

Meeting of A. F. of L. Executive Council - A Full Report

FEDERATIONIST



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In This Issue

THE A. F. OF L. EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.....	2
THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ACTS.....	3
COUNCIL URGES BOLD HOUSING PROGRAM.....	4
STATEMENTS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.....	5
A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF GUATEMALA.....	9
WHICH WAY TO PROSPERITY?..... <i>George T. Brown</i>	10
TRAINING IN CIVIL DEFENSE.....	12
GIVE A DOLLAR TO L.L.P.E..... <i>James L. McDevitt</i>	13
FOR A BETTER CIVIL SERVICE..... <i>James A. Campbell</i>	14
THE SITUATION IN ITALY..... <i>Giulio Pastore</i>	15
'EVILS OF UNIONISM'..... <i>Barry Mather</i>	16
SLAVERY..... <i>Matthew Woll</i>	17
EDITORIALS..... <i>George Meany</i>	18
FRENCH LABOR'S STORY..... <i>Robert Bothereau</i>	20
LABOR IS PROSPEROUS IN NEW ZEALAND..... <i>L. A. Hadley</i>	22
OUR YESTERDAYS..... <i>William L. McFetridge</i>	23
THE LABOR PRESS..... <i>Sam J. Shelton</i>	24
LABOR NEWS BRIEFS.....	26
THEY'RE VIOLATING MINIMUM STANDARDS..... <i>Bert Seidman</i>	28
FROM OTHER LABOR PUBLICATIONS.....	29
UNION MEMBERS SUPPORT CHEST DRIVES.....	31
WHAT THEY SAY.....	32
JUNIOR UNION STORY..... <i>Annabel Lee Glenn</i>	Inside Cover

Reflections

It is admirable to consider how many millions of people come into and go out of the world ignorant of themselves and of the world they have lived in.

We are apt to be very pert at censuring others, where we will not endure advice ourselves. And nothing shows our weakness more than to be so sharp-sighted at spying other men's faults and so purblind about our own.

There can be no friendship where there is no freedom. Friendship loves a free air and will not be penned up in straight and narrow enclosures. It will speak freely and act so too, and take nothing ill where no ill is meant.

Be reserved, but not sour; grave, but not formal; bold, but not rash; humble, but not servile; patient, not insensible; constant, not obstinate; cheerful, not light; rather sweet than familiar, familiar than intimate, and intimate with very few, and upon very good grounds.

Never assent merely to please others. For that is, besides flattery, oftentimes untruth, and discovers a mind liable to be servile and base. Nor contradict to vex others, for that shows an ill temper and provokes but profits nobody.

Do good with what thou hast or it will do thee no good. Seek not to be rich but happy. The one lies in bags, the other in content, which wealth can never give. It is great prudence both to bound and use prosperity. Too few know when they have enough and fewer know how to employ it.

Never esteem any man or thyself the more for money, nor think the meaner of thyself or another for want of it, virtue being the just reason for respecting—and the want of it of slighting—anyone.

Remember the proverb, "Bene qui latuit, bene vixit." They are happy that live retiredly. If this be true, princes and their grandees, of all men, are the unhappiest, for they live least alone. And they that must be enjoyed by everybody can never enjoy themselves as they should.

To be a man's own fool is bad enough, but the vain man is everybody's. This silly disposition comes of a mixture of ignorance, confidence and pride.

William Penn.

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The A. F. of L. Executive Council

THIS PHOTOGRAPH was taken at the Executive Council's midwinter meeting. First row, from left to right: M. A. Hutchison, Carpenters; George M. Harrison, Railway Clerks; Daniel J. Tobin, Teamsters; A. F. of L. Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler; A. F. of L. President George Meany; Matthew Woll, Photo-Engravers; Harry C. Bates, Bricklayers; W. C. Birthright, Barbers. Second row, from left to right: James G. Petrillo, Musicians; W. L. McFetridge, Building Service Employees; A. J. Hayes, Machinists; William C. Doherty, Letter Carriers; Herman Winter, Bakery Workers; Charles J. MacGowan, Boilermakers; D. W. Tracy, Electrical Workers; Dave Beck, Teamsters; David Dubinsky, Ladies' Garment Workers. All but President Meany and Secretary Schnitzler are A. F. of L. vice-presidents.

The Executive Council Acts

IMMEDIATE action must be taken to bolster mass purchasing power, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor said at its midwinter session. The national economy is still "organically healthy," the leaders of the A. F. of L. emphasized, but unless there is prompt government action, the country is "headed for serious trouble."

"Our immediate concern," the Executive Council said, "is the rapid rise of unemployment in the last few months. This trend cannot be ignored by the government nor lightly dismissed as a mere seasonal development. History shows that unemployment feeds on itself and can blight the entire national economy unless it is halted in time."

Seven steps to remedy the increasingly serious economic situation were urged by the Executive Council. The program was offered as essential for the maintenance of the national economy as "a prosperous, going concern."

The Council, which met at Miami Beach, called for a new minimum wage of \$1.25 an hour. Strengthening of the unemployment insurance system was advocated, with the amount and duration of benefits increased and all unjustified restrictions eliminated. The Council also asked that full effect be given to the Employment Act of 1946, under which the federal government is supposed to mobilize all its resources to promote maximum employment, purchasing power and production.

Another Executive Council recommendation was the launching without delay of a program of socially useful public works. The leaders of the Federation also said that aids for housing low- and middle-income families, slum clearance and urban redevelopment "should be far more advanced in size and character" than those proposed in President Eisenhower's recent special message on housing.

In addition, the Executive Council called for adequate provisions "to wipe out the great deficiencies in educational, health and welfare facilities and services and to strengthen natural resource development and conserva-

tion." Declaring that general tax reductions must not be put ahead of the federal government's responsibility to maintain a strong and stable economy, the Council urged that priority in tax relief should be given—when the budgetary situation permits—to those with taxable income below \$2000.

The Executive Council said the new National Labor Relations Board "has given us cause to wonder whether political considerations or the provisions of law govern its decisions."

"Apparently the NLRB has set out to demonstrate that the Taft-Hartley Act is even more oppressive to labor than we ever imagined," the Council declared.

Reversals of former NLRB rules, precedents and interpretations of provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act were cited. The Board under the new chairmanship of Guy Farmer "has rendered a series of decisions which have the effect of damaging trade unions and strengthening the hand of employers," the Council said.

The A. F. of L. leaders asked the Senate to give "more than perfunctory" consideration to the nomination of Albert C. Beeson.

"Is this appointment," the Council asked, "a further step in packing the Board against labor? Should a man

who has sat on only one side of the collective bargaining table be permitted to serve in a quasi-judicial position where he is supposed to judge fairly between the conflicting claims of both sides?"

The Executive Council called upon the United States to make sure that aid promised to Spain actually is used as most needed in that country—to reduce starvation, improve health and education and help small businessmen.

The Executive Council urged the government of Guatemala to repel Communist inroads. Support of social reforms for the Guatemalan people was pledged. The steps already taken to reduce poverty in that country were praised.

The views of the A. F. of L. were set forth in an open letter sent by President Meany to President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman. The Executive Council instructed Mr. Meany to send the message.

Mr. Meany hailed the attempts of the Guatemalan people "to secure their economic independence, increase the productivity of their agriculture, bring social justice to the Indian and peasant masses, industrialize their nation as much as possible and raise the standard of living of the workers."

The A. F. of L. president's letter



Vice-Presidents MacGowan, Tracy and Winter discuss the need of fast U.S. action to reverse dangerous unemployment trend

made it plain that the Federation does not believe that any foreign corporations, including those of this country, should have special privileges in Guatemala. He defended that country's right to decide for itself how its natural resources are to be developed.

However, Mr. Meany tempered his praise with an expression of anxiety over "the growing influence of the Communist elements in Guatemala." He warned that this might touch off developments damaging to the best interests of Guatemala, the United States and all the other countries in the Western Hemisphere.

President Meany's letter said that none of the achievements of the "democratic revolution" were fostered by the Communists. He added that the experience of the American Federation of Labor in aiding free labor throughout the world has shown that the Communists have no real concern with improving labor conditions but are solely interested in promoting the "interests of Soviet imperialist policy in its quest for world domination."

"That is why we view with profound apprehension the extensive sub-

versive activities of the Guatemalan section of the world Communist Party in your country," he told President Arbenz.

"The support which these activities receive from certain elements in your administration only serves to give a cover of respectability and conceal the nefarious aims of the Communists and tends to facilitate their campaigns which are launched not in the interest of the people of Guatemala but in the interest and under orders of their masters in the Kremlin."

The Executive Council gave time to a study of the plight of the underpaid employees of the federal government. In a statement the leaders of the American Federation of Labor said:

"The Executive Council strongly urges the second session of the Eighty-third Congress to take immediate and favorable action on pending salary legislation affecting underpaid postal and other government workers. Bills to provide financial relief to those federal employees have been shamefully ignored by the Administration. Any further deferral can only be re-

garded as shabby treatment of federal workers."

The Council pointed out that surveys made by federal employee unions have revealed "an abnormally high percentage of dual employment among government workers." In addition, nearly 40 per cent of the wives of federal workers "are obliged to seek employment outside the home," the Council said.

"Unless and until the Administration gets squarely behind specific legislation to increase federal salaries," the statement declared, "any statement about strengthening the civil service system is nothing more than another meaningless promise."

In another action the Executive Council called for a manifestation of "American initiative and effective leadership" at the Berlin conference of the Big Four foreign ministers. This statement assailed the so-called Bidault Plan for elections in Germany to be supervised by a commission composed of representatives of the West German Federal Republic, the Communist puppet regime in East Germany and a neutral nation.

Council Urges Bold Housing Program

ABOLD and comprehensive housing program was urged upon the Administration by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its winter meeting. A four-point program was proposed stressing the need for the construction of "at least 600,000 units of low-rent public housing in the next three years."

The Executive Council also proposed:

►An urban redevelopment program providing necessary financial assistance to cities for slum clearance, rebuilding and replanning of metropolitan areas to meet modern requirements.

►Government assistance for middle-income housing, especially through long-term, low-cost loans for cooperative and non-profit housing and encouragement of construction of rental housing.

►Protection for home buyers under federally assisted programs, including requirement of a mandatory builder's warranty against structural defects.

The Executive Council called the low-cost housing program set forth in President Eisenhower's housing message "unrealistic," since the new homes it can at best provide would involve a monthly housing expense almost twice as great as low-income families can afford.

"The proposal to build only 35,000 units a year was termed "a mere token in relation to need."

The Executive Council said the Administration has proposed a "patch-work program" with emphasis on rehabilitation and remodeling of existing dwellings, instead of on new construction.

"City and rural slums must be wiped out, not camouflaged," the Council declared. "Replanning and development of our cities and towns must measure up to modern living and industrial requirements and provide for healthy future growth. Slum clearance must go hand in hand with new public housing to assure accommodations to those displaced."

Calling good housing "basic to the

nation's standard of living," the Executive Council said:

"To meet national needs, there must be an adequate supply of livable housing within the financial reach of families of all incomes.

"One-third of American families are badly housed. The greatest need is for good housing for low-income families. There is pressing need also for homes for families in the moderate income bracket.

"Only 25 per cent of families whose incomes are over \$5000 can afford to buy or rent a new dwelling today."

The Administration's housing program, it was declared, falls far short of what is needed to achieve the goal it sets forth—a good home for every American family.

Every family, the A. F. of L. leaders said, should have the opportunity to live in a good home in a modern, well-planned community. Housing policies, they asserted, should be such as to assure that the resources of the housing industry are used to sustain prosperity and full employment.

Statements of the Executive Council

TEXTS OF SOME OF THE IMPORTANT DECLARATIONS ISSUED AT MIDWINTER MEETING

The Economy

FACTUAL and unbiased analysis of basic economic conditions indicates that, while our national economy is organically healthy, we are headed for serious trouble unless there is prompt governmental action. This is the Executive Council's conclusion after study of the report of the A. F. of L. Research Department on economic developments.

It is just as dangerous to belittle the current recession from the peak of economic activity as it is to exaggerate its meaning. Public understanding of the facts of economic life is vital in a democracy. Only such understanding can provide a firm foundation for confidence in the country's future and public support of policies essential to maintain our economy as a prosperous, going concern.

Our immediate concern is the rapid rise in unemployment during the last few months. This trend cannot be ignored by the government nor lightly dismissed as a mere seasonal development. History shows that unemployment feeds on itself and can blight the entire national economy unless it is halted in time.

In the space of three months, between October, 1953, and January, 1954, unemployment increased by close to 1,200,000, more than doubling the number of jobless. Even as narrowly defined by the Census, 2,359,000 workers were reported as unemployed at the beginning of this year. Both the level of unemployment and the rapidity of the rise call for remedial action.

Such action is all the more urgent because it will be vastly more effective while the margin of decline is still narrow. If the recession is allowed to run to greater depths, not only will the remedies become more burdensome and difficult but gravest repercussions throughout the free world will be inevitable. There is still time to inaugurate policies which can reverse the present trend without undue strain.

First of all, there is need to remove the uncertainty about the requirements of national defense and mu-

tual security confronting the nation in the near future. How great a reduction in the strength of the armed forces and when? How much reduction in defense production and defense-supporting activities and when? How large is the resulting gap in the national income likely to be and how much of an increase in the civilian buying power will it take to fill it?

The Economic Report of the President, transmitted to Congress on January 28, is strangely silent on these questions. It reads as though Korea and Indo-China never happened and the Kremlin did not exist. Yet the pace of transition, the extent of cutbacks and prospective defense expenditures loom large in determining the ways in which the resulting gap can best be filled.

The President's Economic Report correctly describes "consumer income as a key support of prosperity." But this very principle is too often unheeded in the programs the report recommends. And a number of "pathways toward a stronger economy" it suggests lead astray from the stated goal.

Compensation of employees represents two-thirds of the national income. To assure future stability, the first need is to sustain the flow of buying power which comes from wage income. Expanding buying power of workers is necessary to support expanding production and trade and to advance living standards.

A steady decline in farm prices and a two-and-a-half year lag in farm income, despite a sharp population rise, has reduced the farm market potential for other goods and services.

To bring the nation on the high road to sustained prosperity, not further study but timely action is needed. The Executive Council strongly recommends the following type of action:

(1) Prompt increase in the minimum wage under the Fair Labor Standards Act to \$1.25 per hour and extension of coverage of the law to the workers now exempt. It is disappointing that the President's recommendations for an increase in the minimum wage have failed to mater-

ialize. The archaic economic views expressed on the subject in his Economic Report reveal that he has relied on the advice of persons having only a remote knowledge of the role of the minimum wage in a modern competitive economy. There is clear evidence that the increase we recommend is economically feasible and urgently necessary at this time.

(2) The unemployment insurance system must be generally strengthened without delay to increase the amount and duration of benefits, with benefits geared to wage loss rather than a needs concept. Unjustified eligibility and disqualification restrictions should be removed from the administration of unemployment insurance laws and coverage extended. State Legislatures not meeting this year should convene in special sessions to act on needed changes.

(3) Adequate provisions should be made to wipe out the great deficiencies in educational, health and welfare facilities and services and to strengthen natural resource development and conservation. In the drive for "economy," government aids and services essential to the national welfare have been too often sacrificed or ignored.

(4) Funds should be made available to launch without delay a program of socially useful public works with federal grants and loans available to states and municipalities in need of such assistance and federal projects directly undertaken where appropriate.

(5) Aids for housing low- and middle-income families, slum clearance and urban redevelopment should be far more advanced in size and character than proposed in the special message on housing.

(6) General tax reductions must not be put ahead of the federal government's responsibility to maintain stability and strength of our economy. When the budgetary situation permits, priority must be given to tax relief for those with taxable income of under \$2000. The so-called "technical revisions" recently proposed overwhelmingly favor the well-to-do and the business community with tax

easements. We ask that preferential tax treatment accorded to those favored groups be rejected and that, instead, the numerous and costly tax-escape devices be eliminated.

(7) Full effect shall be given to the Employment Act of 1946, requiring the federal government to mobilize all its resources to promote conditions which afford "useful employment opportunities for those able, willing and seeking to work, and to promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power." The Council of Economic Advisers has not discharged its full responsibility required by this act.

Taft-Hartley Revision

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL has carefully examined the Smith bill (S. 2650) embodying, for the most part, President Eisenhower's long-delayed proposals for revision of the Taft-Hartley Act. The Smith bill, as a whole, falls dismally short of the action needed to correct the imbalance of the Taft-Hartley Act and to make it fair to both labor and employers. The few portions of the Smith bill which attempt to provide labor with a measure of relief from oppressive requirements of the original law are woefully half-hearted. They obviously follow the line of least resistance.

Changes which would permit workers a degree of mutual assistance to maintain union standards, extend union security to workers on short-term employment and eliminate mandatory injunctions in secondary boycott cases would be to the good so far as they go. But failure to modify related provisions, such as the one giving precedence to anti-union state laws over the federal law with respect to union security, destroys much of the effect of such changes.

A new provision allowing states to ignore the federal law in so-called local "emergencies" is a further surrender of the proper exercise of federal responsibility.

An amendment is included in the Smith bill giving employers an additional advantage in attacking unions before NLRB elections. This change has long been sought by employers.

Another new provision would replace a skilled federal mediator with a panel of local citizens in cases where a labor injunction is already in effect. This proposal is ill-conceived. In many communities, espe-

cially one-industry towns and small towns dominated by the employer, such a local "citizen" board would be a ready device to compel a settlement on employer's terms.

Overshadowing all of the proposed changes is the provision which would call for a government-controlled poll of workers in a strike. This proposal cuts at the very heart of free labor in America. It must not be permitted to become law.

Detailed A. F. of L. recommendations for Taft-Hartley revision were submitted by President Meany to Congressional committees last year. These A. F. of L. proposals are constructive, restrained and realistic. Their adoption is essential to make the Labor-Management Relations Law just and workable, fair to labor and management alike, and fully consistent with the public interest.

Briefly, our main recommendations are:

(1) The right of employers and unions to agree to traditional and mutually satisfactory union security arrangements should be restored. The preferential status which the Taft-Hartley Act gives to state laws, which are more restrictive than the federal law with respect to union security, should be eliminated.

(2) The Taft-Hartley restrictions on mutual assistance of workers (the so-called "secondary boycott" provisions) should be amended not only to accomplish the purposes provided in the Smith bill but also to permit concerted action against any subcontractors, suppliers and distributors who may have a joint economic interest in a dispute between the primary employer and his employees. In addition, the right of workers to engage in peaceful picketing should be reinstated.

(3) "The law should be amended to end government by injunction. Mere removal of the mandatory injunction in secondary boycott cases still leaves rampant the rule by injunction without prior hearing. The special provisions for damage and breach of contract suits against unions should be eliminated."

(4) "The many Taft-Hartley pro-



Joseph Keenan (left) and Richard Gray, leaders of Building Trades Department

visions which unnecessarily interfere with collective bargaining, restrict terms of agreements and arbitrarily prevent workers from exercising their rights of representation should be eliminated."

(5) "Exemptions denying large numbers of workers—including agricultural workers, plant guards, professional workers and others—full rights under the law should be removed so that the right of all workers to organize into unions and engage in collective bargaining will be equally protected."

(6) "The present cumbersome and ineffective provisions relating to so-called "national emergencies" should be changed to define true national emergencies and to emphasize collective bargaining, mediation and voluntary arbitration as the best means available for ending such disputes."

The Smith bill not only fails to correct these and other inadequacies of the Taft-Hartley Law as it now stands but also imposes new and greater restrictions on the rights of free labor.

The Taft-Hartley Law has been in effect during a period of prosperity and full employment. Many employers who have refrained from making use of its union-destroying provisions under these conditions will not hesitate to use them to the hilt in a period of shrinking production and rising unemployment.

The nation can ill afford a breakdown in labor standards and disruption of labor-management relations to which the full use of Taft-Hartley can so quickly lead.

The Smith bill does not solve the

major problems of the Taft-Hartley Act and, in fact, would create new difficulties.

Labor Board

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL is deeply concerned over the trend of decisions by the National Labor Relations Board in the past few months.

Since the Eisenhower Administration came into power, two new NLRB members have taken office and a third appointee is awaiting Senate action on confirmation. This change in the political complexion of the Board has been followed almost immediately by sharp reversals of former NLRB rules, precedents and interpretation of basic provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Under the new chairmanship of Guy Farmer, who has publicly boasted of his determination to make drastic changes in the Board's approach to labor-management problems, the NLRB has rendered a series of decisions which have the effect of damaging trade unions and strengthening the hand of employers.

Already the Board has begun a process of ceding federal jurisdiction to the states which will seriously interfere with union organization and collective bargaining if not promptly checked. It has reversed former NLRB precedents in a number of cases in order to give employers wider license to attack unions under the guise of "free speech." It has imposed more severe restrictions on picketing than are required even under the Taft-Hartley Act. It has adopted new rules and voting qualifications which are obviously designed to hurt unions.

Its decision in the Ebasco Services, Inc., case last month provides a shocking illustration of how far afield the reconstituted NLRB is going in pursuance of its new and punitive policy. In that case the Board ordered the company and the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers to sever collective bargaining relations which had been conducted harmoniously on a nationwide basis for the past three years.

This drastic punishment was exacted because the Board found that the company and the union had discharged an individual employee in Joppa, Illinois. This employee was ordered reinstated with back pay.

Even if the Board's finding as to the illegality of the discharge was

justified, which is debatable, the requirement to reinstate with back pay is as far as the NLRB has ever gone in such cases. But here the Board set a new and dangerous precedent by presuming to strip the union of all collective bargaining rights as punishment for having negotiated an unauthorized union security clause in its contract with the company.

To regain its bargaining rights, the union must first obtain certification from the NLRB. This is impossible of fulfillment because the Board has been unable to entertain representation election petitions in the construction industry.

Thus the Board has forever barred the union from representing the employes of the company who are members of the union and want to remain members. No other union has contended for bargaining rights for these employes. No allegations of company domination or assistance to the union have ever been made. No complaints were lodged against the union by the company, which has indicated it would prefer to continue its collective bargaining relations with the union.

The Executive Council fails to see any justification whatsoever for the Board's assumption of power to mete out such sweeping and arbitrary punishment of the union in this case. In fact, we feel that this decision completely controverts the ostensible purpose of the law, which proclaims it seeks to promote peaceful collective bargaining.

Apparently, the new National Labor Relations Board has set out to demonstrate that the Taft-Hartley Act is even more oppressive to labor than we ever imagined.

Under the circumstances, the Executive Council feels that the United States Senate should give more than perfunctory consideration to the nomination of Albert C. Beeson to the National Labor Relations Board. Is this appointment a further step in packing the Board against labor? Should a man who has sat on only one side of the collective bargaining table be permitted to serve in a quasi-judicial position where he is supposed to judge fairly be-

tween the conflicting claims of both sides? These questions require further exploration.

The Executive Council feels that unless extreme care is taken to appoint men to the National Labor Relations Board whose impartiality and objectivity are unchallenged, the workers of this country will lose all respect for this government agency. The new Board already has given us cause to wonder whether political considerations or the provisions of law govern its decisions.

Welfare Funds

THERE HAS BEEN a tremendous growth in recent years in the establishment of health and welfare funds covering union members. For the most part, these plans have been negotiated by local unions with employers as a part of their collective bargaining contracts. As a result of lack of experience in this field, local unions have set up health and welfare programs that differ widely not only among the various industries but even among local unions in the same industry and the same community.

The Executive Council has given careful consideration to the problems that have arisen in connection with these health and welfare plans. We find that in a vast majority of cases the programs have been established on a sound basis and are being wisely and prudently administered.

However, there are instances where it is charged that local unions have permitted administration costs to go too high and where abuses have been charged in the distribution of commissions by agents of insurance companies.

A number of international unions are investigating this situation with a



Secretary of Labor Mitchell (left) and Martin P. Durkin, the former Secretary

view to developing standards for the protection of their members. The Executive Council, therefore, commends all affiliated unions which have taken steps to regulate the actions of their local unions in this field and advises all national and international unions which have not already done so to take whatever steps are necessary to insure proper administration of health and welfare funds.

The American Federation of Labor is compiling full information on health and welfare plans in handy pamphlet form to assist affiliated unions in developing these programs.

Italy

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL of the A. F. of L. has received with great interest the constructive and encouraging report by Giulio Pastore, general secretary of the Italian Confederation of Labor Unions (C.I.S.L.), on the situation in Italy.

On this occasion the A. F. of L. reaffirms its solidarity with the dynamic free trade union forces headed by Pastore. We greet the progress made by the C.I.S.L. in its efforts to build a powerful, unified, democratic trade union movement free from Communist influence and unhampered by any political party or denominational association. Such a free trade union movement is the best guarantee for peaceful social progress, better conditions of life and labor, and the triumph of democracy over every form of totalitarianism, Communist and Neo-Fascist alike.

In this connection, we express our full agreement with the declaration by Giulio Pastore that "the Italian political situation has been greatly affected, in a negative sense, by the unstable policies of the Allied powers in regard to the Trieste question" and that a "prompt, just solution of the Trieste issue would greatly enhance the prestige of the democratic forces in Italy." The A. F. of L., therefore, firmly reiterates its plea for the return of the Trieste area to Italian sovereignty.

The A. F. of L. pledges itself to do everything in its power to assure continued American support to the democratic forces in Italy now striving, under very difficult circumstances, to protect and promote human freedom for the Italian people and to insure their rightful role in the building of an effective system of collective secu-

rity in free Europe and in the community of free nations dedicated to world peace and prosperity.

We strongly urge the democratic ranks to join their forces in defense of their common ideals and the national freedom of Italy, now menaced by the Communist conspiracy serving the interests of Soviet imperialism.

Mexican Labor Situation

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL considers it shocking that the U. S. Department of Labor is actively recruiting Mexican labor at border stations in the Southwest in defiance of Mexican government policy.

It is not surprising that hostile border demonstrations have taken place in protest against such activities. Under the old agreement between our country and Mexico which expired January 15, all recruitment was done jointly by U.S. and Mexican authorities in the interior of Mexico.

We call attention to the fact that a government agency is hiring foreign labor not because there is a shortage of American workers but at a time when unemployment is increasing rapidly in the Southwest. In California, for instance, the increase in unemployment during last November alone was 46,000, bringing the total in the state to 197,000 as of December 1. It is obvious that the Department of Labor is being used to create a surplus supply of labor for the corporate farms and big ranches of the Southwest so that wage standards can be depressed.

Surely it would be wiser for the government to recruit unemployed workers within the Southwest area for available farm jobs rather than to import workers at such a time and under such conditions.

We do not approve of the unilateral program under which the Department of Labor is carrying on its recruitment activities, nor does the Mexican trade union movement. Organized labor on both sides of the border feels that further efforts should be made to continue the former collective agreement which spelled out the duties and responsibilities of both governments.

Furthermore, under the old agreement, there were certain protective minimum guarantees, such as the proviso that Mexican contract workers would be guaranteed pay for 75 per

cent of their work time in this country. Under present border hiring practices, the Department of Labor has become a party to grower-worker pacts maintaining the same general standards, but since they depend upon administrative policy, which may be modified or canceled at will, the workers have no real guarantees. Corporate growers already are demanding sharp downward revision of the guarantees.

The admission of Mexican contract workers without bilateral contract protection constitutes a danger to both the American standard of living and the welfare of the Mexican workers involved.

The Executive Council calls upon our government, and particularly the Department of Labor, to reexamine the perilous and shortsighted policies now governing the importation of farm labor from Mexico and to renew efforts to work out a mutually satisfactory compact with that country.

We feel that such an agreement should provide decent, minimum standards and provide for consultation with the trade union organizations of both Mexico and this country on basic policies. We also are convinced that it should include stronger provisions to halt the flow of illegal, "wetback" immigration of workers across the border with all its attendant evils.

Bricker Amendment

THE A. F. OF L. strongly opposes Senate Joint Resolution No. 1 which is designed to alter the existing treaty-making powers established under the Constitution. The adoption of this resolution would, in the opinion of the American Federation of Labor, seriously weaken the United States in its relations with other nations. It would constitute a self-defeating step in our efforts to fulfill our responsibilities in the present international crisis.

We urge the Senate not to take hasty action on the so-called compromise proposals introduced to date on this subject. These have been drafted hastily and were not given sufficient consideration by adequate committee hearings.

We believe that the Constitution should be amended only after the most careful scrutiny and consideration by all interested parties over an adequate

period of time. We have found that none of the compromise proposals offers any advantage in comparison

with the present constitutional provisions. Indeed, virtually all of the suggested changes involve great disad-

vantages and dangers, both to the Constitution of the United States and to America's foreign policy.

A Letter to the President of Guatemala

The Executive Council, at its mid-winter meeting, approved the following open letter to President Jacob Arbenz Guzman of Guatemala:

Dear Mr. President:

The American Federation of Labor and many other democratic forces in this country and elsewhere are deeply concerned over the growing influence of the Communist elements in Guatemala. We are anxious that this concern not give rise to any developments which might be damaging to the best interests of your country, our nation and all the other peoples of the Western Hemisphere.

We wish to express to you our hearty support of the constructive democratic social changes which the people of Guatemala seek in order to better their conditions of life and labor.

We likewise sincerely appreciate the efforts of the Guatemalan people to secure their economic independence, increase the productivity of their agriculture, bring social justice to the Indian and peasant masses, industrialize their nation as much as possible and raise the standard of living of the workers. In this connection, we believe that the projects for building a highway to the Atlantic Ocean and a new port on the Gulf of Mexico will be positive contributions to the development of Guatemala's economy.

We believe that your nation, like any other people, has the right to decide how its own natural resources are to be developed. In this spirit, we welcome your nation's efforts to build new industries which will provide jobs for its workers, raise their standards of living and enhance their well-being.

We regard highly the Constitution adopted by your country in 1945. We believe in the type of Labor Code which has become law in Guatemala. Likewise, we view with high regard all efforts to reform the agrarian economy of your country so as to make available the land to the landless toilers of the soil and thus build up a strong class of small independent farmers—a social force indispensable to the development and progress of a healthy democracy.

Furthermore, Mr. President, we wish to express to you our warmest sympathy with your country's endeavor to achieve what has been often called economic independence. We do not believe that any foreign enterprises should enjoy special privileges in Guatemala or any other country.

Various conventions of the American Federation of Labor have unanimously and forcefully stressed this position on behalf of the more than 10,000,000 organized trade unionists whom they represent. We believe that United States-owned enterprises, like any other concerns doing business in your country, must be subject to the law of the land, whether such legislation be in the realm of agriculture or industry.

However, Mr. President, we do not believe that any of the achievements of the democratic revolution have been brought about or advanced by the Communist Party of Guatemala. On the contrary, our experience with the Communists in our own country and in other lands in Europe, Asia, Africa and elsewhere has taught us that, though they are quick to exploit the grievances of the working people, they are not really interested in improving the conditions of labor. The Communists are interested in exploiting the shortcomings and weaknesses at hand primarily for the purpose of advancing their party aims, for the purpose of furthering the interests of Soviet imperialist policy in its quest for world domination.

This is why we view with profound apprehension the extensive subversive activities of the Guatemalan section of the world Communist Party in your country. The support which these activities receive from certain elements in your Administration only serves to give a cover of respectability and conceal the nefarious aims of the Communists and tends to facilitate their campaigns, which are launched not in the interest of the people of Guatemala but in the interest and under orders of their masters in the Kremlin.

We believe, Mr. President, that there are three specific ways in which this Communist influence is demonstrated.

In the first place, it is shown by the way in which newspapers that are associated with the parties supporting your Administration take every possible opportunity to attack the United States, to accuse it unfairly of such monstrous crimes as germ warfare and generally to picture our country as a grasping and money-mad tyranny, while at the same time supporting such Communist moves as civil war

in Indo-China and the fraudulent Communist peace campaigns.

The second way in which the Communist influence is demonstrated is the affiliation of many of the leading figures in your Administration with the various international Communist drives and organizations. Bogus peace campaigns, Communist "youth" congresses, "cultural" gatherings and other Communist front organizations count among their members leading figures in the government parties of Guatemala.

Thirdly, Communist influence is shown through official patronage to the Communist-dominated labor bodies and discouragement of attempts to organize bona fide democratic free trade unions. Recently, the latter was demonstrated in the arrest of the leaders of the Union Nacional de Trabajadores Libres. We are certain that, were it not for the continuous government support of the Communists' control of the organized labor movement, many workers' groups would be willing and anxious to break the shackles of Communist domination.

We respectfully bring these matters to your attention, Mr. President, in the hope that you will take the necessary measures to correct them, and thereby insure the development of your country into a healthy and prosperous democracy, free from the terror of every type of dictatorship and the crushing burdens of poverty.

The democratic labor movement of the United States is willing to do everything in its power to aid in furthering the democratic social reforms in the interest of the great mass of the people of Guatemala and every other country in the Western Hemisphere. At the same time, we must emphasize to you that we are deeply distressed at the open attempt of the Communists in your country to subvert its democratic Constitution in the interest of a foreign power that is brutally totalitarian and seeks to make your nation a mere pawn in the international Communist drive for world domination and dictatorship.

Looking forward to an early reply, I remain

Respectfully yours,
(s) GEORGE MEANY
President,
American Federation of Labor

ELECTION DAY IS COMING
BACK L.L.P.E. AND REGISTER TO VOTE

WHICH WAY TO PROSPERITY?

The President's Economic Report and the program based upon it give rise to a suspicion that the Administration and the Council of Economic Advisers may be suffering from a split personality

By GEORGE T. BROWN

THE Economic Report of the President, submitted to Congress a few days ago, is the first one presented by the Eisenhower Administration. As such, its importance cannot be judged simply as an historical document which describes what happened during 1953 to the economic life of the nation. Instead, the real importance of this Report lies in its portrayal of the role of the government in our economic lives both at present and in the future.

For this reason, therefore, the following statement of high purpose in the opening sections of the Report is very important:

"Unless the government is prepared and willing to use its vast powers to help maintain employment and purchasing power, even a minor readjustment may be converted into a spiraling contraction."

With this declaration as the measuring rod, let us review the Report both as to what happened in 1953 and what the proposals of the Administration are. Do the proposals actually demonstrate that the government is prepared and willing to use its vast powers to maintain employment and purchasing power?

According to the Report, "Perhaps never before in their history have the American people come closer to realizing the ideal of high and expanding employment, without price inflation, than in 1953." Unfortunately, however, this "ideal" was not actually reached because the nation suffered from what the Report calls "the minor contraction of recent months."

Specifically, what happened in the course of this "minor contraction"—according to the Report—was that farm income continued to shrink, stock prices began drifting down, the average length of the workweek in manufacturing started to decline, orders for durable goods declined, retail

trade failed to expand, consumer debt continued to rise, inventories also continued to rise, interest rates rose to an accelerated rate, and by December unemployment had risen to 1.8 million.

Nevertheless the Report exudes confidence and predicts:

"Our economy is highly prosperous, and enjoys great basic strength. * * * The minor readjustment under way since mid-1953 is likely soon to come to a close, especially if the recommendations of the Administration are adopted."

BEFORE presenting the recommendations of the Administration for correcting the downturn of the economy, it is worthwhile to notice just what it believes was the cause of "the minor contraction of recent months."

According to the Report, "the immediate cause of the contraction was an imbalance between production and sales that developed earlier in the year"; in other words, "the contraction since last June or July has thus far been largely in the nature of an inventory adjustment." Put more bluntly, once again America's power to produce outstripped the purchasing power of the American people.

The lag in purchasing power is fully documented in the Report.

While the cost of living "inched a little higher," the income of farmers declined.

While the cost of living "inched a little higher," wage increases in manufacturing were less than they had been under the wage control program of the government—despite the fact that the gross annual product of the nation was increasing about 3.7 per cent and production in manufacturing rose some 8 per cent. To quote the Report:

"However, the monthly rate of increase in average hourly earnings for factory workers (excluding premium

pay for overtime) during the period from mid-January, 1953, to the end of the year was somewhat below that during the period of controls and was less than half the monthly rate of increase during the second half of 1950, before controls were imposed."

Certainly this is not the result expected to stem from the benefits of ending the dead hand of government controls.

But the result of freedom as reflected in corporate profits was quite the reverse. Unlike wages-before-taxes, profits-before-taxes have reached an all-time high since the abolition of controls. The rates of profits for the first three quarters of 1953 were higher than the peak profits of World War II by a very substantial amount. The peak in profits was reached in 1943 when the then all-time high of \$25 billion was attained. A new all-time high record was made in 1953 when profits accrued at an annual rate of roughly \$45 billions. Even the slight "contraction" of the fourth quarter will not endanger the record for profits set up during 1953.

Yet, in his letter of transmittal to Congress, the President concludes that the "slight contraction" was "due mainly to a decline in spending by business for additions to inventory." [Emphasis added.]

This definition of what caused the downturn—from the viewpoint of the Administration—is important because it forecasts the kinds of actions which are recommended. The decline in the spending of business for inventory—not the decline in the spending of consumers for the goods and services they helped to produce at an all-time record—is the seat of the trouble, from the viewpoint of the Report.

Apart from whatever caused the downturn of economic activity, the Report makes clear that the nation is not in the throes of a recession. How-

ever, to avoid the possible effects of "psychological repercussions" stemming from the current "inventory adjustment," a legislative program was cautiously recommended in the Report—with the qualification that these measures constitute a program of immediately advisable action and by no means is the program to be considered as made up of emergency measures, since "the current situation clearly does not require one."

What is the legislative program recommended in the Report? It is essentially the "bold, dynamic program" which the Administration has laid before Congress. As the President's messages to Congress indicate, the program allegedly includes "reforming" the tax structure, "aids" to housing, "aid" to agriculture, "improvement" of the social security program and a position on minimum wages. In addition, "studying" plans for public works and formulation of policies on economic relations with other countries are also in this program.

Save for a part of the tax program, the status of the program today is that the Administration has proposed and the Congress has not yet disposed. In short, the limited program so cautiously advanced by the Administration has yet to go into action; meanwhile, the "contraction" continues and unemployment grows.

But there is one part of the program which is in effect partially: reform of the tax structure. On January 1 personal income taxes were reduced on an average 10 per cent and the excess profits tax was allowed to die. Let us examine the tax program to detect the approach of the Administration in reversing the downturn.

The proposals on taxation in the Report are neatly divided into two major parts. One is defined as "Greater Equity to Consumers" and the other is headed as "Encouragement of Enterprise and Employment."

Tax benefits for consumers include allowances for widows and widowers who employ assistance for children at home, for families whose children earn more than \$600 per year, for relief from heavy medical expenditure, for employer contributions to health and pension plans, for pensioners, and making available split income privileges for heads of households.

Just how much such corrections in

the tax structure will add to the consuming power of the nation is disclosed by the observation that:

"These faults can be remedied at a comparatively small loss of revenue."

On the other hand, the Report finds that the present structure of business income taxation is faulty since it leaves too little incentive for the assumption of risk by investors and "offers too meager a reward to enterprisers who assume high risks." This statement appears to contradict the facts in the Report describing profits in 1953. Concretely, the Report states:

"Profits after taxes for the first three quarters of 1953 were, in terms of seasonally adjusted annual rates, a little over 20 billion dollars, compared with 18½ billion in 1952 as a whole."

It is quite difficult to accept the assumption of "meager" rewards and also the fact that in 1953 profits reached an all-time high in the history of the United States. Nevertheless, a number of important tax reductions are proposed to stimulate incentive. Carry-back privileges on net losses are to be increased from one to two years; so-called "double taxation" on

You can fool some of the people all of the time and all of the people some of the time. But you can't fool all of the people all of the time.

—Abraham Lincoln.

dividends alone is to be eliminated; depreciation allowances are to be liberalized; research and development expenses are to be deducted as business costs; and taxes on undistributed earnings are to be reduced by placing upon the government the burden of proof that keeping such profits from the stockholders is unreasonable.

The Report does not state that these changes can be made at "a comparatively small loss of revenue." Rather the suggestion is made that refunds of tax overpayment should be speeded.

The fact should be clear that neither the proposed tax changes nor the tax reductions in effect will have any noticeable results on the ability of consumers generally to purchase the inventory which allegedly caused the "contraction" in economic activity. Instead, the "tax cuts" which have had the greatest impact on wage-

earners are those due to unemployment.

The overemphasis upon encouraging initiative of business and the slight regard to stimulation of consumption are not limited to the tax field. The Administration's position on minimum wages—based on the Report—is even more glaring. The sum and substance of this position is that there should be no increase in the minimum wage at this time.

THE arguments marshaled for this conclusion reach back to Eighteenth Century economic theory and were thoroughly reviewed at the time the Fair Labor Standards Act was originally under discussion in Congress in 1935. These fallacies were recognized as out of place during the first half of the Twentieth Century; now they have been exhumed to haunt wage-earners and their families who are expected to live on \$30 per week or 75 cents an hour because a higher wage would discourage the initiative of their employers. Here, if ever, is a problem which is both "human" and "economic" that cannot be evaded by nice distinctions of language.

Looking back over the entire Economic Report and the "bold, dynamic program" based upon it, one is led to suspect that the Council of Economic Advisers and the Administration may be suffering from a psychological malady characterized as a split personality. In view of the fact that psychology is such a basic ingredient in the prescription written in the Report, perhaps it is not amiss to suggest the old cliche, "physician, heal thyself."

To be specific, time and time again in the Report the role of government in the economic life of the nation is described in truly bold and dynamic words such as these:

"It must be recognized, however, that the demands of modern life and the unsettled state of the world require a much larger role for government and a much higher level of taxation than suited earlier generations.

"The proper role of government is not to resist adjustment to change, but rather to foster conditions under which adjustment can be accomplished with a minimum of hardship or difficulty."

"Still another condition of economic progress in our times is a floor

of security for the individual, and it is incumbent on government to help to establish it."

"It must also be recognized that, while it is desirable to bring down the scale of government, our society has become so complicated that, quite apart from large and continuing needs for defense, the government now properly assumes obligations unknown to earlier generations."

But the program arising from the same Report bears no discernible relation to these vigorous descriptions of government. Instead, it appears that the Administration does not wish to breast the economic tides which are now running against the nation but is satisfied with a cautious wetting of a toe at the water's edge.

Faced with the problem of great unsold "inventories," the Administration proposes policies designed to increase the production of more "inventories." The incentives of producers are to be stimulated, not the ability of consumers to buy the inventories which allegedly "caused" the "adjustment."

Faced with the fact that wage increases have been insufficient to place adequate consuming power in the hands of wage-earners, the Administration refuses to raise even minimum wages. Faced with rising unemployment, the Administration decides to "study" the planning of public works but not to make use of plans now ready. This timidity in connection with a public works program demonstrates vividly the split-personality illness of the Administration.

For example, in the Report there is the frank admission that:

"A growing economy brings new needs for building and engineering projects that clearly lie outside the realm of private enterprise."

"Within limits, expenditures for public works can be timed to serve the interests of stability."

"The backlog of desirable federal, state and local public works is counted in tens of billions of dollars."

"Although the rate of public construction has been rising significantly in recent years, it is much smaller than what is needed *** to eliminate within, say, the next decade the accumulated need for extensions or improvements of highways, schools, hospitals, sewer and water facilities, parks, forests and other elements of the public estate."

But no policy designed "to serve the interests of stability" is suggested.

It most certainly seems that the requirements of prudence would dictate that in uncertain times such as these, genuine boldness would set into motion a public works program. Certainly this does not mean a program measured in terms of tens of billions of dollars. Rather it does mean the expenditure of funds in the nature of a premium payment on insurance against the risk that the current "contraction" may become a full-blown recession or depression, as the Council of Economic Advisers would define those terms.

The well-being of the nation is not a matter to be left to economic soothsayers, no matter how high their standing in that art may be.

Certainly any program of public works costs money, but since the Administration is already following a policy of economizing on defense, the burden of a public works program will not be unbearable. Furthermore, since no one knows the course of the

present contraction, there can be no certainty that the national debt will not grow as national income falls and tax income declines.

To be sure, it is a mistake to describe the state of the nation in terms of "gloom" and "doom," but with equal certainty it is an error to define the present program of the Administration as "bold" and "dynamic." As for the Economic Report itself, it demonstrates clearly that the Council of Economic Advisers is attempting to face in two directions simultaneously—one face toward outmoded doctrines of classical economics and the other face toward the economic facts of the Twentieth Century.

It is to be hoped that the present split-personality illness will be cured promptly so that we may continue our American way of life, safe from the snares and delusions of all the "isms" so prevalent in the world about us. We must never endanger our belief in the dignity of the individual man and our fervent desire for continuing economic freedom.

Training in Civil Defense

TWO members of the American Federation of Labor were classmates recently during a two-week course for rescue instructors at the National Civilian Defense Training Center, Olney, Maryland. They are Ray W. Wheeler of Balboa Heights, Canal Zone, a sergeant in the Canal Zone Fire Department and a member of the International Association of Fire Fighters, and Joseph Fejes of Fairbanks, Alaska, a member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and director of rescue, engineering and debris removal of the Fairbanks civil defense organization.

Both men report that the course, conducted by the Federal Civil Defense Administration, has given them valuable knowledge and experience which they intend to use in promoting civil defense in their home communities.

They are of the opinion, however, that even greater benefits from the course can be obtained if classes are divided, with beginners in one class and experienced students like themselves in an advanced class.

At Olney they received intensive instruction in methods of organizing

and training rescue squads, care and use of rescue tools, handling casualties, firefighting, tunneling through wreckage, lashing and rigging, use of ladders and hoisting devices, shoring and breaching walls, and coping with the hazards of damaged utilities, such as broken gas mains, power lines and water pipes.

Before going to the National Civil Defense Training Center, Sergeant Wheeler completed a course in advanced firefighting at the New York Fire College and answered more than 100 alarms with the New York Fire Department. He is a graduate of the Army Ordnance course in chemical weapons and a qualified Red Cross first-aid instructor.

Mr. Fejes served with the Army in Alaska from 1943 to 1945. He liked the country so much that he returned after the war with his family to make his home in Fairbanks. He is employed as an electrician. During the first week of his course at the National Civil Defense Training Center his expenses were taken care of by the Fairbanks Central Labor Union, the Building Trades Council and the city of Fairbanks. He paid his own expenses during the second week.

*Let's do our part to make America
a better place in which to live*

GIVE A DOLLAR TO L.L.P.E.

By JAMES L. McDEVITT

Director, Labor's League for Political Education

LABOR'S League for Political Education starts its 1954 campaign for dollar contributions on March 1. Every American Federation of Labor member will be asked to give \$1, receiving a 1954 L.L.P.E. membership card in return.

Every dollar given to the League will be used exclusively to help elect friends of labor to Congress. To be a friend of labor a candidate must have the non-partisan endorsement of the local and state branches of Labor's League after careful consideration of the records of all candidates.

The \$1 voluntary contributions are not used to pay for the year-round educational work or the regular operating expenses of Labor's League. These are a regular part of the American Federation of Labor budget. However, the Taft-Hartley Act forbids using any union funds to help elect a Congressional candidate. That is why each American Federation of Labor member is asked to give \$1 voluntarily. If we don't support our friends, then we will leave the field wide open to the special-interest groups trying to elect anti-labor candidates.

In the 1952 election approximately \$100,000,000 was spent by all groups. Four of America's wealthy families gave more to elect their friends in 1952 than all the 10,000,000 members of the American Federation of Labor gave to elect theirs. The Rockefellers, the Pews, the Mellons and the DuPonts gave political contributions in 1952 totaling \$259,275, according to official reports of the clerk of the House of Representatives.

That was more than the \$252,002 given by the 10,000,000 A. F. of L.



MR. McDEVITT

members through L.L.P.E. in 1952. No wonder a backward Congress was elected.

The participating international unions of the A. F. of L. are mailing personal letters and a set of L.L.P.E. membership books to each of their local unions starting in March. Federal labor unions will receive books direct from Washington.

The best way to arouse support for this important fund-raising campaign is to make it a special order of business at the membership meetings of the locals. A program arranged through the local league will serve to inform the membership about the operations of the local league, the Congressional seats up in this year's elections and the great needs for funds. Following the meeting every member should be afforded an opportunity to give his dollar. This can be done at meetings, by direct mail, through personal contact by the shop

steward or at the time and place of regular dues collection.

The important thing is to get the dollars flowing in quickly. Experience has shown that all it takes to get the dollars is to explain to each member how badly friends of labor need his help and then ask him for his dollar.

The first rule in politics is that elections are won in the precincts, not in Washington, D. C. All the national L.L.P.E. can do is send out the voting records and current information on what is going on in Washington, coordinate the fund-raising drive and see that a local L.L.P.E. is organized and functioning properly in each state and community. From there on it is up to the local union members and the officers of the local union and local L.L.P.E. Checking registration lists, ringing doorbells, manning the polling places on Election Day, furnishing the records of the candidates to each union member cannot be done from Washington. It takes *local* initiative, leadership and membership participation.

To help promote the fund-raising campaign and to give advice and assistance wherever possible in organizing local activities, four area directors have been appointed to the national staff of Labor's League for Political Education. Charles Houk, secretary-treasurer of the Tennessee State Federation of Labor, has been named Southern director. Hugh Mullin, chairman of the Pittsburgh L.L.P.E., has been named Eastern director. C. Al Green, vice-president of the California State Federation of Labor, has been named Western director. Stanley Elliott, first vice-president of the Indiana State Fed-

eration of Labor, has been named Midwestern director.

These four directors have wide experience in L.L.P.E. activities and are respected in the trade union movement in their areas. Under the direction of the national L.L.P.E., these men will travel continually during the coming months, helping out in every situation where their presence is needed by local and state leagues. They will be available, within the limits of time and distance, to explain the purposes of Labor's League and the political issues at membership meetings and at L.L.P.E. rallies. Their assistance will be made available in organizing local register-and-vote campaigns or any of the other local educational programs.

L.L.P.E.'s purposes are quite simple. We operate on the principle that, if the people have the facts, they will vote in their own self-interest; they will realize that there is a direct relationship between their bread and butter and the candidates they vote for on Election Day.

If the ballots we check on Election Day listed issues rather than names, there is little question how the election would go. If voters were asked to vote either for a man who favors fair labor laws, adequate social security, full employment and better public schools or for a man who favors outlawing unions, giving charity rather than social security, creating a pool of unemployed and permitting child labor in factories, is there any doubt how most people would vote? However, at the present time vicious reactionaries, protected by the press and campaigning on emotion-packed issues, are elected by the very working people against whom they will vote once they are in office.

Party labels don't tell us the answer in too many cases. That is why non-partisan study of the voting records is the test employed by the A. F. of L.'s political arm. This is the best method for A. F. of L. members to exercise their independent right to help choose those who write the laws under which we all must live.

This is an important election year. Thirty-five Senate seats and all 435 seats in the House are up this year. Each of us can do his part to make America a better place in which to live. Give \$1 to Labor's League, be sure you are qualified to vote, and then vote on Election Day.

For a Better Civil Service

By JAMES A. CAMPBELL
President, American Federation of Government Employees

UNDER the spoils system the distribution of government jobs was based not on the applicant's qualifications for the job but on his record as a worker for the political party that had won the last election.

The more diligently he worked, the more votes he presumably influenced or the larger was his financial contribution, the greater would be his claim to the kind of job he wished in the government service.

This is what we had prior to 1883, and it is remarkable that the country withstood the abominations of the spoils system as well as it did.

Unfortunately, there are forces at work in this country today trying to abolish the merit system. They would remove any semblance of a career from the federal service. Once again, we have the insistent clamor of those who believe that party loyalty must lead to a federal job.

But what about the civil service system as it exists today? Has it developed as it should, so as to provide the type of public service that the country needs?

Unfortunately, we cannot answer these questions wholly in the affirmative. The civil service system is not what it should be. Its shortcomings lie not only in failure to extend it to include all non-policy-making positions but in failure to provide incentives which will encourage able employees to remain in the service.

We still need an adequate transfer procedure that would make the skills and abilities of the employees readily available throughout the executive branch of the government. We need a promotion system that would remove personal favoritism and secrecy, provide a more careful selection of supervisory personnel and establish grievance procedures that will guarantee fair treatment and protect employees against dismissal to satisfy the whims of prejudiced supervisors.

The common belief of many persons is that federal employment is a sinecure and that no one voluntarily

ever leaves a government job. The truth could not be further from that mistaken idea.

Two years ago the Budget Bureau and the Civil Service Commission conducted a survey of length of service and leave conditions in the civil service. One-third of the 1,253,000 employees had five years' service or less. Seventy-eight per cent had served no more than ten years.

The figures show that 95 per cent of government employees leave the service before completing twenty-five years.

In the calendar year 1952 there were 400,000 employees who voluntarily left their government jobs. In 1951, 437,000 voluntarily left their jobs.

WHAT can be done to build a genuine career service? How can the government be given the benefit of long experience which private business values so highly in its personnel? It is not difficult.

It is only necessary to provide federal employees with reasonable incentives to stay in the government service. Give them rates of pay at least commensurate with the advance of living costs and other working conditions that would influence more employees to make government service a career.

Above all, an end should be put to all this uncertainty which for many months has kept thousands of federal employees wondering when they would lose their jobs. The number actually separated has been small, but the fear of losing one's job is much more widespread.

We have pointed out some of the things that are wrong in the hope that it would point the way to better government through better working conditions.

There is much about our government and our country that is right, and we of the American Federation of Government Employees in every part of the United States have dedicated ourselves to the cause of good government.

Giulio Pastore Reports on

The Situation in Italy

As the general secretary of the Italian Confederation of Labor Unions (C.I.S.L.), Giulio Pastore leads democratic trade union forces in his country. He reported on the Italian situation—a subject of great interest to American labor—at the midwinter meeting of the A. F. of L. Executive Council.

I HAVE noticed, since my arrival in the United States, a widespread and puzzling wave of pessimism concerning the Italian political situation. There is no reason whatsoever to consider as inevitable today the conquest of power by the Communist Party of Italy. On the contrary, although its leader, Palmiro Togliatti, has greatly reduced his aggressive tactics in favor of a seemingly conciliatory policy with the view of luring to his side the unguarded and naive elements of Italian public opinion, the prestige of the Communist Party has in fact failed to increase during the past two years and in some sectors of the labor movement it has actually started to decline.

One of these sectors is the trade union field. The Communist Italian General Confederation of Labor (C.G.I.L.) is losing votes in the elections of shop committees. Furthermore, the Italian Communist Confederation is no longer capable of conducting political strikes with any degree of success, nor is it able to conduct, alone, strikes of genuine trade

union character. Herein lies the most convincing demonstration of the influence gained by the free trade union movement among Italian workers.

Some people have derived dramatic conclusions from the political elections of June 7, 1953. However, even in this particular instance it is entirely out of place to talk of an "inevitable Communist triumph."

If it is true that the June 7 elections resulted in an overall increase of votes for the Communist and the pro-Soviet Socialist (Nenni) parties, it is also true that careful analysis of the results shows that it was a success of a temporary character, largely due to the tremendous propaganda concentrated in the most economically depressed zones of the country, particularly in Southern Italy.

In the industrial centers of the North, which exercise a predominant influence in determining the political character of the country, such a success did not take place.

The Italian parliamentary system permits the democratic conquest of power by those who command an ab-

solute or relative majority. However, according to the present distribution of seats in the House of Representatives, we have the following situation:

Communist and Social-Communist members	218
Anti-Communist members	372

In the Senate, the majority of the non-Communist groups is even greater.

I want now to stress that the Communist peril has by no means disappeared, nor is it today less serious than heretofore. In this connection, I wish to state that in my opinion the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has made a grave error in facilitating a split in the Italian free trade union movement.

There exists in Italy, in addition to the C.I.S.L., a second small organization affiliated with the I.C.F.T.U. called the Italian Labor Union (U.I.L.). In the purely economic field for the defense of labor rights, such a split has indirectly performed a service in favor of Italian employers, while in the political field it has played into the hands of the Communists.

No one can deny that, in the factories as well as in the agricultural fields, this division of the free trade union forces has eliminated the psychological advantage of a clear-cut, single choice between the Communist and the democratic labor unions. Moreover, there still exist a submerged and at times quite open rivalry between the two democratic labor movements, with inevitable damaging consequences to the anti-Communist front.

The Communist leaders are so well aware of this situation that while they keep up the most furious attacks against the C.I.S.L., they develop a persistent policy of friendship toward the U.I.L. It is impossible to solve such a difficult situation with provisional measures based on a policy of so-called "friendly relationship." The



Giulio Pastore (left) and Irving Brown, A. F. of L. man in Europe

truth of the matter is that one cannot overcome the enemy—especially such a powerful and aggressive one as the Communists—with divided forces.

I want to point out the great inferiority of means with which the free trade union movement operates in Italy in comparison to the Communist unions, which have at their disposal an apparatus of officers, financial resources and a network of headquarters five or six times greater than the C.I.S.L.

Recent statistics compiled on a national scale show that the Communist unions have 4,500 full-time officers, organizers and field representatives versus only 900 for the C.I.S.L. In addition, in every Italian province the Communist political apparatus, with its ample resources of men and money, is completely and at all times at the disposal of the Communist unions.

These means are not provided for by the Italian workers. They came from extraneous sources, specifically political and perhaps foreign. It is a known fact that the Communist C.G.I.L. distributes its membership cards without collecting initiation fees of any sort and is not concerned with the payment of monthly dues.

Somewhat similar observations can be made in reference to the Italian democratic parties. For quite some time they have been engaged in bitter fights among themselves, thus neutralizing the effectiveness of each other. This state of affairs leads to serious consequences because, in addition to the necessity of fighting the Communist danger, Italian democracy must guard itself against the resurgent forces of the Right, namely, the Fascists and the Monarchs.

Obviously, the Italian democratic parties (Christian Democrats, Social Democrats, Republicans and Liberals) cannot successfully fight on two fronts if they do not reach among themselves a minimum agreement at least in reference to the solution of the most pressing problems. This should not be too difficult in view of the quasi-similar approach to the solution of such urgent problems as indicated in the public statements of their respective leaders.

Convinced that it was voicing the aspirations not only of its members but of the Italian workers in general, the C.I.S.L. recently addressed an appeal to the four democratic parties

suggesting a program of action on which they all could agree.

The Communist danger in Italy is at least equal to the Communist danger throughout the world and particularly Europe. It is closely tied to the intense propaganda campaign by a well equipped and aggressive apparatus whose primary objective is to dis-

credit democracy before the eyes of the workers. Hence the necessity that the Italian democratic parties abandon for good their internecine warfare and find again a field of fruitful cooperation among themselves.

The resumption of active cooperation among the four democratic parties would (Continued on Page 30)

'Evils of Unionism'

The article below appeared recently in The Sun, a Canadian newspaper of large circulation published at Vancouver, British Columbia. We believe our readers will be interested in Columnist Barry Mather's analysis of the so-called "evils of unionism."

By BARRY MATHER

HOW much better would we all be without unions? Yes, how much? A gentleman, and no doubt a scholar, had a letter in one of the other papers advising workers against getting organized. He said that employes joining unions lose their liberties as individuals and become dominated, also regimented. How true this is!

Before the unions came a man was free to do an honest day-and-a-half's work for an honest day's pay. He was at liberty to stand on his own heels and bargain with the boss. He could be pushed around at any time. Nobody regimented him against it.

The unions have changed this. Today not even the non-union employe is free from the evils of unionism. As a result of union people being dragooned into accepting raises, many non-union people have been intimidated into accepting raises, too.

I speak with sad personal experience. I once, misguidedly, helped organize a union. My hopes for greater individuality were high. Imagine my remorse when I saw what unions really do to you!

The good old six-day week, that we employes knew so well and were so attached to, was scrapped!

In its place the five-day week was foisted on us!

Instead of being free to work 70 hours in six days, we were quickly dominated into working 40 hours in five!

And from the very moment the union got us we had to take more pay!

To show you how unions treat you—for every \$20 a month raise the union forced on us we had to pay, I believe it was, as much as \$1 a month in dues!

The fate of union members' wives must be particularly trying.

In place of the happy times of long hours, low pay and personal insecurity, unions have dominated entire families, indeed, entire communities, into a better standard of life.

SLAVERY

By MATTHEW WOLL

IT IS often said that Soviet concentration camps differ from those which were established by the Nazis in that the Nazis wanted to exterminate their prisoners while the Soviet dictatorship wants to exploit them for economic purposes.

While it is true that there are no gas chambers in the Soviet concentration camps, it should not be forgotten that, in the final analysis, the Soviet slave labor system has killed at least as many human beings as did the Nazis with their methods of wholesale assassination.

Heavy work, systematic starvation, diseases and insufficient medical care, lack of protection against work accidents and harsh climate have brought in their wake an extremely high death rate in the Soviet concentration camps.

It is not only slow death which menaces the inmates of Soviet concentration camps. On several occasions Soviet prisoner camps have been the scenes of wholesale extermination of defenseless victims of the Soviet regime. Such tragedies must not be overlooked in any study of slave labor in the Soviet Union.

The free trade union movement in all countries attaches special importance to the struggle against slave labor. The international free labor movement is resolutely opposed to slave labor in any form anywhere. The free trade unions have consistently fought against any move which would threaten to replace free labor by forced labor, even when performed by prisoners convicted of crimes in democratic countries, under a rule of law.

The free trade union movement has always opposed every scheme to have convict labor compete with free labor. Work can be a means of reforming prisoners. But such work must never be used to deprive the free workers of their liberties and their jobs or to endanger their wage standards and working conditions.

It is, therefore, not surprising that the free labor movement is highly

alarmed by the fact that slavery has become an official institution in one-third of the world. We are shocked that forced labor is playing an increasing role in the economic life of these countries. In the face of the growing threat of this slave labor system, the workers of the free countries cannot feel that their own achievements are secure. Under such tragic circumstances, we cannot hope for unimpeded and steady social progress even in the free countries of Europe, Asia and the Americas.

Our opposition to slave labor stems also from our solemn duty of international labor solidarity toward the oppressed and exploited workers of Russia, China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany, the Baltic and Balkan states and all the other regions and countries of the Soviet empire.

WE HAVE seen how in Russia the rise in the number of concentration camps and slave laborers has been accompanied by the curtailment and destruction of the most elementary rights of even the workers who are nominally free. The extension of forced labor has meant cruel pressure on their living standards.

Today the workers of Communist Russia—even those outside the labor camps—are subject to a form of bondage. They have no right to strike for better wages and working conditions.

In our opposition to the slave labor system, we are loyally serving the basic interests of the peoples of Russia, China and the other countries under Communist rule. We are defending these interests for which they themselves are not permitted to speak out or fight.

The cancerous growth of slave labor threatens these peoples with moral degradation, cultural barbarization and economic retrogression. Proof of this can be found in the fact that we have been swamped with letters from escaped inmates of these horror camps. They all express deep grati-

tude to free labor and readiness to help us fight this menace.

It is well known from history that states whose economy was based to any important extent on slave labor manifested strong tendencies toward aggression and expansionism.

The fact that modern slavery is a political and economic instrument of totalitarian dictatorship does not make the contemporary slave state less aggressive than those of former times. On the contrary, the combination of totalitarianism and large-scale exploitation of slave labor constitutes a particular danger for world peace. The Soviet slave labor system is moving steadily and swiftly in a vicious circle. To liquidate all individuals and groups who are considered a real or even potential obstacle to the designs of the dictatorship, these people are sent to concentration camps and exploited as slave laborers.

Since this method involves the conversion of an increasingly large part of the Soviet economy to the use of slave labor, the dictatorship is constantly hunting for new prisoners in order to keep its slave labor economy going. Thus, political persecution engenders slavery and slavery engenders political persecution. The most alarming result is the tendency toward an international expansion of the slave system. This tendency undoubtedly constitutes a most grave threat to world peace.

Our struggle against slave labor is not negative. It is a most positive way of fighting for the defense and promotion of human rights and human dignity.

The existence of a forced labor system is a complete negation of human rights. The spread of this plague in a large sector of the globe makes it the first duty of all democratic forces, and particularly of free labor, to rise in protest against this scourge of our century.

Democracy and human rights cannot be considered secure anywhere in the world if faced by the existence—let alone expansion—of slavery.

EDITORIALS

by George Meany

The Time to Act Is Now

AT LAST there are signs that the Administration is waking up to the danger of the chain reaction upon the national economy of fusing the explosive elements in falling production and rising unemployment.

Until now, the attitude of Administration spokesmen has been so complacent that those who dared to call public attention to the economic facts were denounced as prophets of gloom and doom and their demands for prompt corrective action by the government wholly ignored. But when the Census Bureau announced that national unemployment already has exceeded the 3,000,000 mark and when the Federal Reserve Board revealed that industrial production dropped 10 per cent in the last six months, President Eisenhower finally acknowledged the seriousness of the situation.

He told the nation, by means of a White House press conference, that unless conditions pick up in March he will take emergency measures to stimulate the national economy. Among the possibilities he mentioned was raising personal income tax exemptions. This would reduce taxes for the great mass of the people and thereby prime the pump of sluggish purchasing power.

There are other important steps which the government could and should take under wise and prudent leadership. An effective program of public works to provide more jobs is acutely needed. Increase of the federal minimum wage from the present unrealistic level of 75 cents an hour to \$1.25 an hour would quickly swell purchasing power. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has suggested a comprehensive seven-point program to the President to prevent the symptoms of recession from developing into a full-scale depression.

We agree fully with the President that the national economy is organically healthy. We hope his confidence

in an upturn during March is justified. But we are convinced that it is a mistake to sit back and do nothing in the hope that conditions will get better by themselves when it is entirely practical to take action now to insure that they don't get worse. There is always the possibility that a policy of too little will render future action too late.

The plain fact is that purchasing power has shrunk. Abnormally high unemployment, which feeds on itself, is mainly responsible. When people buy less, inventories pile up and merchants stop placing orders. That halts the production wheels in the nation's factories and more workers are laid off.

The only way to arrest this destructive process is to stimulate the flow of purchasing power. This, history proves, the government can do if it acts in time. The most effective way to do it is to place more money in the hands of the people, not to provide more favors and incentives to business. Thus far the Administration has taken the position that what's good for business is good for the nation. That is the wrong way to approach this vital problem. To get back on the right track, the government should realize for once and for all that what's good for the people is bound to be good for business and the nation as a whole.

Berlin Stalemate

THE FOUR-POWER foreign ministers' conference at Berlin failed utterly to accomplish the purpose for which it was called—namely, to further the cause of peace in Europe. The Iron Curtain, as represented by Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov, again has proved impenetrable and unbudging. The cold war goes on.

Yet the conference has proved highly enlightening, nevertheless.

It has helped to strip the false "peace" cloak from

the Communist war machine and to expose its naked aggressiveness to the entire world.

By refusing to agree to free elections for a united Germany, by blocking efforts to negotiate an Austrian peace treaty and by obstructing every move to advance the cause of world peace and security, the Soviet bloc once more has alerted the free nations to the ever-present danger of Communist aggression.

If anything were needed to restore unity of purpose and action among the member nations of the European Defense Community, the negativism of the Soviet position provided it. To that extent, at least, it can be said that the Berlin conference served a constructive purpose.

Before adjournment the foreign ministers agreed to hold a political conference on Korea April 26 in Geneva. The war in Indo-China was included in the agenda. For the first time Red China was invited to participate. From past precedent, there is little ground for optimism that this conference will contribute any more to peace in the Far East than the Berlin parleys to peace in Europe.

Wetbacks Unlimited

ANNOUNCEMENT by President Eisenhower that this country will resume negotiations with Mexico toward an agreement on importation of farm labor from that country falls far short of the action required to solve the "wetback" problem. The talks, it seems, will be held "at the diplomatic level." That means the exclusion of representation from American or Mexican trade unions. And that, in turn, means inevitable failure to provide adequate safeguards against the exploitation of imported workers.

In 1951, before he entered the White House, Eisenhower called the "wetback" situation a "moral disgrace." Since he became President, traffic in this contraband labor has increased to a current rate of 1,000,000 a year. At the same time a dangerous relaxation in the standards formerly protecting such workers has taken place.

Pressure for increased immigration of Mexican farm workers comes from the big ranchers and corporate farms of California and the Southwest. These interests gave the Eisenhower ticket heavy political and financial support in his campaign. In response to their claims that an "emergency" exists, the Department of Labor is now, with doubtful legality, recruiting farm workers for them at the border.

Before accepting such emergency claims as valid, we maintain that the Department should make an independent check and consult with trade union representatives in the area to make certain that there are not sufficient workers at hand.

There is no justification for legislation, already approved by the Agriculture Committees of both Houses of Congress, authorizing the Department of Labor to contract for seasonal farm workers from Mexico. So far as we can determine, there is a surplus of available labor in the California and Texas farm areas at present.

In fact, unemployment is increasing rapidly. The only real "emergency" that exists is the pressure from big farm interests for an over-supply that will result in further depression of wage standards.

A Justified Ouster

THE FORCED resignation of Dr. Clarence Manion as chairman of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations is a step in the right direction. Instead of sticking to his knitting, Dr. Manion spent much of his time making speeches attacking Administration policies. He sided constantly with the ultra-reactionary wing of the Republican Party which has condemned the Administration in far more bitter terms than even the Democrats.

Aside from his extra-territorial activities, Dr. Manion failed to discharge the duties of his own office properly, in the opinion of the American Federation of Labor. We protested to the President particularly against his action in stacking a subcommittee named to study federal-state relationships in the unemployment compensation field with big business representatives whose chief interest is to cut corporate tax liabilities, rather than to improve the system.

It is clearly evident that Dr. Manion attempted to shape government policy in accordance with his personal views, which were for the most part out of step with the President's own policies.

Dr. Manion seems to have labored under the misapprehension that the American government is an agency of big business, by big business and for big business, rather than of, by and for the American people as a whole. We hope his dismissal will set the record straight for others with that warped point of view.

Mudslinging

AMERICAN politics has always been volatile, but it has rarely sunk to such depths as the recent blanket charges by G.O.P. extremists smearing the Democratic Party as the "party of treason." The demagogues who go in for such tactics seem to think that if they repeat the lies often and loudly enough American voters will believe them. They underestimate the intelligence of the American people.

This is not a matter of partisan politics but a clear-cut issue of common decency. The American people know that the Democratic Party, with all its faults, fully matches the patriotism of the Republican Party, with all its faults. In fact, G.O.P. spokesmen who attempt to claim for themselves a monopoly on patriotism are violating basic principles of fair play and laying themselves open to counter-charges of un-Americanism.

Both parties would do better to get down to the facts in the coming Congressional campaign and eliminate the name-calling. On Election Day the voters will judge by the record, not by far-fetched slogans.

FRENCH LABOR'S STORY

By ROBERT BOTHEREAU

General Secretary, Force Ouvrière of France

THE troubles of the French labor movement began as far back as 1917 when the shock of the distant Russian revolution was felt in France.

Reflecting the national character, trade unionism in France has never been very disciplined, and it has always been sensitive to ideological shocks and tendencies. Trade union discussion in France has always been based as much upon ideas as upon practical questions affecting material interests.

It is not always easy for people outside France to understand why, traditionally, the French trade union movement has been vehemently opposed to political attachments. Conviction, self-confidence and faith in its own destiny have had much to do with this determined spirit of independence, with this self-assurance the movement gained with its maturity. But prudence also has been a factor—care that the movement should not expose itself to the danger of stresses from within such as must lead to disruption and rout.

The need for such a basis of political independence was not only foreseen but solemnly proclaimed at the congress of the Confédération Générale du Travail (C.G.T.) in 1906, in a document known as the Charter of Amiens. A test came in 1921, when over-zealous supporters of the Communist state and the political party embodying its principles were forced out of the Confédération. This was France's first national trade union split. The dissidents created a new organization which they called, paradoxically, the United General Confederation of Labor (C.G.T.U.).

This organization lasted fifteen years and became more and more integrated with the Communist Party, from which it took directives. It

affiliated with the Moscow Trade Union International, which was opposed to the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The C.G.T.U. was never a serious factor in France. Numerically it was weak, and it had little influence over the workers. When it finally disappeared in 1936, to be reabsorbed by the old C.G.T., much more fuss than necessary was made.

The formation in 1936 of the Popular Front produced an atmosphere of false security. It seemed that the sheep were returning to the fold. Actually, a worm had got into the fruit. Circumstances favored the growth of the worm, and the damage it did amounted to devastation. It took but a few years for members of the Communist Party to capture key posts in the C.G.T. and to ensconce themselves there as masters, driving out into the wilderness most of the officials who had long carried aloft the banner of trade union freedom in France.

THE main body of the C.G.T. underestimated the Communists. That fact was undoubtedly the main cause of the success of the small Communist group. They were not considered dangerous. It was supposed that their bark was worse than their bite.

Most gravely underestimated was the Communists' discipline. That was the factor which enabled them to capture position after position. Democratic trade unionists found it difficult to understand the extent to which discipline and obedience could make up for obvious personal shortcomings. When they did understand, it was too late.

It is unfortunate that simplicity and honesty often go hand in hand. Had it not been expressly asserted in the constitution at the unification con-

gress of 1936 that factional activities within the C.G.T. would not be permitted? Were honest people to question the good faith of the Communists? Were honest people to suspect that the Communists would actually create a Communist network within the fold? Was it not, they thought, the real intention of the Communists to close ranks with other anti-Fascists to create a solid human barricade to defend liberty against Nazi totalitarianism?

Such was the psychology when the Communists were admitted into the C.G.T. in 1936. It took them only three years—with every outward form of correctness—to assume one-third of the key posts of the C.G.T. Three years took us to the eve of the war. And still the Communists proceeded patiently in their work of tying up the French trade union movement in their meshes.

The war broke out. But it was immediately preceded by an event which, for a while, clove a deep rift between the two sections of the French movement—the Hitler-Stalin pact. The C.G.T.U. element hailed the pact. Our own comrades denounced it.

In that state of schism, the C.G.T. was faced with Marshal Petain's decrees prohibiting trade union activities. And it was in that state of cleavage that French trade unionism went underground when France was occupied—to resist. Resistance united the movement again. France must be liberated!

In time France was liberated, and the liberation left the C.G.T. for a while reunited—with the same internal balance, apparently, as in August, 1939. But only apparently. For the war had provided the Communists with excellent springboards. In France as elsewhere in Europe, they appeared with something of the pres-

tige of the victorious Soviet armies. Little opportunity did they lose of glorifying and magnifying the deeds of those armies. Hitler, by attacking Russia, had done them the service of turning them into a resistance—and even into "ardent French patriots." The servants of Moscow had no difficulty at all in playing upon the exasperation of outraged Frenchmen.

In contrast, free trade unionists, as a whole, were affected adversely by the war. Many of them—many of the best of them—paid with their lives for their valor in the resistance. This loss was very serious. Many other leaders disappeared for quite different reasons. They had supported the Vichy regime.

WHEN the history of French trade unionism during that period is written, the difference in strength between the two wings will appear in relief—the one crippled by losses, the other raised high by the immediate currents of the aftermath. The Communists were literally swept into the heights they coveted.

The effect of this change of leadership upon the conduct of French trade unions was very considerable. And the numbers affected were also considerable. Here were 6,000,000 French trade unionists looking forward under the sun of liberation to a period of peace, of work and of better life after those dark years of war, suffering, privation and constraint. Only those who actually breathed that atmosphere can understand how easy it was for the demagogue.

The demagogue talked of increased wages, of better food, of partnership in industry. He talked of the duty of citizens to create a new constitution—to form a government. This and that had to be done. The workers listened and jumped to it.

As for what the demagogue himself wanted, the worker concerned himself with it only too little. Indeed, too few workers concerned themselves with it at all. What need was there for the demagogue even to consult the French millions about the eventual direction into which trade union France was to be led?

Those at the time who really understood the intentions of the Communists in that climate were the old guard who remembered the schism of 1921. Others had to wait for new criteria—which came all right when

the nation, in urgent need of reconstruction, had confided its political destinies to a coalition in which Communists participated. The Communist Party, as a national, French party, was now actually in office!

It was in office for some time—and during that time it assigned a secondary role to the C.G.T. The C.G.T., it ordained, was to remain comparatively inactive, while the Communist Party used it as a source of recruitment—as ground in which it could take root. There was no need to invest the movement. To have seized it would have been even more maladroit. The Communists just proceeded to stagnate it and infiltrate it quietly—and systematically.

Their quiet progress was rapid. They proceeded from point to point and scored victories. The actual conquest of the majority of seats on the Executive Board of the C.G.T. took less time, after the war, than the C.G.T.U. element of 1936 had needed to obtain the springboard for their assault as an active minority.

Once they had obtained the majority, they barricaded themselves in by the expedient of deliberalizing the constitution. The pendulum had to be stopped.

At about the same time as they stopped it, the Communist Party politically went into opposition again, leaving the government and breaking off with the "Left coalition" in Parliament. The Communists had various reasons for this action. Not the least was the new position taken by Soviet Russia.

From that time we saw their tactics reversed. The Communists decided now to make active use of the C.G.T. They had by now conquered it, penetrated it and trained it. They had conditioned it to becoming the popular mainstay of the Communist parliamentary deputies. They had expected to be able to keep it under leash as a reserve for any circumstances. They decided now to use it as a battering ram for the destruction of the government of the time, which indeed fell. Government was to be battered and the regime was to be worn down.

To understand the purposes of this strategy and the prospects, as they seemed, of its success—this was in 1947—we have to remember that wages and prices were still governed by wartime legislation and that the government was still in possession of

full powers to regulate the French economy.

At the same time, the workers had plenty of ground for dissatisfaction with their wages. Dissatisfaction was there and it was quite an easy matter for the Communist Party to lead the C.G.T., organized like a machine, into the assault, not only against a government held responsible for every evil under the sun but against democracy itself—against a democracy which had resisted every attempt to make it "popular."

We entered thus a period of wholesale recriminations, protests, demands—and strikes stepped up in a carefully planned crescendo. It was part of the progressive training for assault—by which the Communist Party planned to destroy our French liberties.

HOWEVER, the best-laid schemes very often gang agley. It happened to Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815. And it happened to the Communists in France in 1947. They expected victory. They expected disciplined obedience from the C.G.T. Instead, they suddenly found themselves faced with disaffection and revolt. It was enough to change the course of history.

The old guard of libertarians within the C.G.T. had been vigilant. They detected the danger and watched its progress. With them was a younger element. These groups together, calling themselves "Force Ouvrière," had hitherto fought a delaying action within the framework of the C.G.T. with the intention of eventually regaining control—certainly not for themselves but for the sake of restoring its independence from political parties. Their hopes were probably rather exaggerated, and they did not succeed.

However, their action proved decisive in another way. The year 1947 was a year of wave upon wave of strikes. Demands reached the point at which they could only assume the character of a revolt. It was then that the eyes of many who had blindly supported the Communists were opened. Large masses of disillusioned Frenchmen understood at last what the Communists wanted of the C.G.T.

Those who were the most determined to defend their freedom discovered that they could rally to Force Ouvrière (*Continued on Page 31*)

Labor Is Prosperous in New Zealand

By L. A. HADLEY

Secretary, New Zealand Furniture Workers Union

NEW ZEALAND is virtually 100 per cent unionized. This is due in no small measure to the acceptance by the organized industrial movement of the system of conciliation and arbitration as the basis for the settlement of disputes. This system carries with it the condition that membership of adult workers in their appropriate trade union is compulsory by law.

Early trade unionism in New Zealand took the form of "craft" unions, while unions along "industrial" lines developed in later years. Events have proved, however, that an effective job for their members can be done by both types of organizations, working as they do in close cooperation and mutual understanding.

The New Zealand Federation of Labor is a free and independent democratic organization, the sole nationally recognized body representing organized labor. It is affiliated with the I.C.F.T.U.

New Zealand enjoys a high degree of prosperity, which is reflected in the wages and general working conditions that prevail. Basic or minimum working conditions include a forty-hour, five-day week, overtime pay for work in excess of eight hours daily or forty hours weekly, paid two weeks' vacation, at least nine paid holidays, minimum safety, health and welfare standards in all factories, shops and offices, workmen's compensation and minimum wage legislation.

It is necessary to point out that the parties to awards and agreements (unions and employers) have complete freedom, in their negotiations, to improve on any measure which is enacted by the legislature, and generally the unions of New Zealand have proved themselves capable of doing this. As an example, many workers enjoy three weeks' vacation

as the result of direct negotiations between their unions and employers, although the law sets a minimum of only two weeks.

Any condition or requirement provided by law or contained in any award or agreement is a minimum requirement only. The Court of Arbitration is bound also by this rule. It can, and does at times, improve the conditions of an enactment, but it cannot reduce or take away any of the conditions prescribed in a legislative act.

While much that is of benefit to the workers of New Zealand now is conferred by legislation, this has not always been the case. Many unions, as a consequence of the bitter experience of struggle and fight, had won for their members some of the conditions which now are enforced by law. That, in itself, later helped to pave the way for the implementation by legislative action of many of the working conditions now applied universally for the benefit of all New Zealand workers.

Rapid and extensive gains in both industrial and social conditions were made possible from 1935 to 1949 when the Labor government, supported by organized labor, ruled the country. Many of the essential or basic needs, both of labor and the people as a whole, were then translated into the form of legislation.

No claim is made that the system of conciliation and arbitration as operated in New Zealand is perfect. This system is established by legislation. Separate unions of either workers or employers may be registered under the law as well as industrial associations or federations of separately registered unions operating in a similar or related industry or craft.

Appropriate provisions determined by the members must be contained in

the constitution of any union which has been formed and registered, setting out the method by which the members may, if they so desire, dissolve the union and dispose of its assets. Similarly, the act insists upon the inclusion in the constitution of any registered union of democratic provisions in regard to matters which affect the union as a whole, including the election of officers and management committees and the control by members of the union's main functions and objectives.

Under the industrial conciliation and arbitration laws of New Zealand, a workers' court is created. This is called the Court of Arbitration. It comprises a full-time judge of Supreme Court status together with two full-time representatives, one selected by organized labor and one by the organized employers' groups. A majority decision of this court is final and binding.

All decisions of the Court of Arbitration, including the terms and conditions of any award or agreement, are enforceable in law. Appropriate penalties are provided in cases of violations.

In actual negotiation proceedings the first step is a meeting of the representatives of the union and of the employers. This meeting constitutes a council of conciliation. The parties in conciliation council are charged with the obligation of reaching a mutually acceptable agreement. If they do so, the terms of settlement are referred to the court and, if in order legally and technically, are ratified as an award by the court without alteration. However, should the parties fail to reach an agreement, the matters not agreed upon are argued before the Court of Arbitration.

After hearing the case, the court

will decide only those issues upon which the parties themselves failed to agree. No appeal from the court's decision is allowed. Matters agreed upon by the parties are automatically deemed part of the conditions and are written into the award by the court in addition to the conditions which are the result of the court's decision. The award for its term, usually one year or eighteen months—it cannot be for a term greater than three years by law—is binding on the union and all workers and employers in the industry or craft to which the award applies.

No unemployment exists in New Zealand. Labor continues to be much in demand. Both primary and secondary commodities have increased in volume and value. The country is enjoying record prosperity and employers consistently are paying wages in excess of minimum rates set by the Court of Arbitration.

As a result of legislative enactment, organized labor is given an opportunity to apply to the Court of Arbitration—not more often than at twelve-month intervals—for what is called a general wage order.

When an application is made, the court is obliged to hear labor's case. The court must take into account all the economic factors affecting trade and finance in the country, the volume and value of production in primary and secondary industries and any increase or decrease therein, and any rise or fall in retail prices of consumer goods generally as indicated in the national consumers' price index.

If the Court of Arbitration is satisfied that New Zealand's prosperity generally is such as to warrant a general wage order increase for the workers, it may issue an order accordingly in such terms as it thinks fit the circumstances.

In principle, this system of adjusting wages for all workers means that the richer the country becomes and the greater its prosperity, an equitable share of that increased total wealth will be distributed to the working people as a whole in recognition of their contribution to the creation of that wealth. These considerations, of course, are altogether different from those involved in wage negotiations between unions and employers.

New Zealand's system of general order increases is not designed to

detract from the bargaining rights of individual unions. The unions are free as always to negotiate on behalf of their members and to endeavor to reach agreement with the employers concerned upon wage rates and conditions of employment, based upon the particular and specific considerations applying in any given occupation or industry.

Substantial penalties are prescribed by law against offending parties for both strikes and lockouts. However, industrial disputes have occurred and

will obviously continue to occur on occasion.

The New Zealand Federation of Labor has for years reaffirmed its acceptance of the principle of conciliation and arbitration. Resolutions carried at successive annual conferences generally declare labor's approval of "full use of the practice of settling industrial disputes by conciliation and arbitration before exercising the fundamental right of wage workers collectively to withdraw their labor power."

OUR YESTERDAYS

By WILLIAM L. MCFETRIDGE

President, Building Service Employees International Union

"The object of organized labor is to make the home more beautiful, to go down to the very lowest and lift them up, to make today brighter than yesterday and each day brighter than the one which has gone before." —Samuel Gompers.

WHEN we ran across this quotation from the immigrant cigarmaker who headed the American Federation of Labor for forty years, we were reminded of the part of our union obligation in which we pledge "to educate myself and fellow workers in the history of the labor movement."

Often more honored in the breach than in the observance, this pledge points up a prerequisite to becoming a good trade union member.

Many union members see the union as an agency to secure higher wages or as someone to speak up for them when they are unfairly treated. It is that, but it is far more than that. It is a part of a continuing stream of trade union progress whose headwaters start in early days and early struggles.

In his autobiography Samuel Gompers tells how he furnished his first office with a kitchen table brought from home and an empty box for a seat. The filing cases were improvised from empty tomato boxes furnished by a friendly grocer.

Few were the friends and bleak the outlook for the organized labor move-

ment in those days when employers viewed labor as a commodity to be bought or junked at will.

In those early days of the labor movement and the early years of this century, the foundations of our American Federation of Labor were laid. Men like Gompers, the late William Green and our own William F. Quesse were not only heroes of the labor movement; they were pioneers who fought for the worker's right to dignity and status as well as larger paychecks.

In our own international union this same fight had to be fought all over again, because the building service workers were among the lowest-paid and most harshly treated groups of employees in the land.

Today, when in many ways today is brighter than yesterday, it is important that we know and keep in mind our heritage to remind ourselves how hard others fought for rights which now are ours.

More than that, history warns us that only continued effort and continual organizing will make tomorrow brighter.

The story of the trade union movement makes us part of and partners in the worldwide struggle of average men and women to assert their rights and improve their conditions.

Only by working together now can we make tomorrow brighter than today.

The Labor Press

By SAM J. SHELTON

CONDENSED FROM AN ADDRESS

MY active journalistic life goes back to the time when Samuel Gompers was hailed throughout the world as the great statesman of the cause of labor. When I recall that the International Labor Press of America owes its beginning to that great advocate of a noble cause, I am filled with admiration such as I also feel when I recall that the newspaper with which I have been connected so many years owes its founding to another great advocate and leader of the same era, Joseph Pulitzer.

Labor publications should be—and, I am sure, are—guided by definite basic principles.

First, they should be loyally devoted to the advancement of the cause of labor. They are recognized as the organs of groups which have been formed to promote the welfare of their members. As such they should lead the way in energetically and wisely seeking the path of progress.

Second, they should recognize that national survival as a strong, free people transcends all individual and group interests.

Third, they should strike hard for equitable and fair treatment for the groups they represent, keeping in mind the national welfare.

Fourth, they should seek constantly to advance the level of our standard of living.

Fifth, they should maintain the highest standards of truth and integrity in communicating vital information to their readers.

In our great system of government we do have a freedom of expression, through the press and otherwise, such as exists in few other nations. The First Amendment still prevails—despite the hammering it has taken in a changing, restless world—and so we maintain this freedom of speech and freedom of the press.

This does not apply just to the daily news press, nor to the secular press, nor to any general press. It

means the whole press—the great whirling cylinders that turn out the news and views of big organizations, the flatbeds that speak more haltingly but just as surely for the lesser groups, the creaky relics that give wings to zealots' words and the mimeographs of the relatively impecunious.

It includes, to be specific, the labor press. Legally, the labor press is as free as any publication can be. It is free to spread the opinions, ideas and reports of those whom it repre-

wouldn't be worth last year's dues receipt if it did not take a firm, clear stand in support of labor.

What I am driving at goes deeper than this. Objectivity and responsibility may be called the duty to arouse but not to inflame—to kindle the fire of inspiration but not the burning passion of hate. Unconsciously perhaps, all too many examples exist today of publications that are bound by a misguided philosophy. Their editors do not always tell their readers what they ought to know. Sometimes, and this happens too often, some such editors do not give the whole story but only a biased, one-sided story. Such one-sided publications become propaganda sheets, not organs of information and legitimate opinion.

Fortunately, the publications that deserve these criticisms are limited in number. Most labor journals, I am glad to say, are clean, well-balanced, ably edited. There are some well-known labor journals in which, as a matter of course, the editors, or the international officers of the owner unions, speak out freely. These men give advice and information which obviously on occasion is not what the member-readers would like—but it is what they ought to know. I have seen some notable examples among the journals which come to my desk.

sents; free to inform or to misinform, as it may choose; free to publish whatever its owners and editors desire.

But all life has its burdens as well as its benefits. Parallel with freedom of the press runs inseparably the responsibility of the press. By this I mean responsibility for accuracy, for honesty and dependability, for thoroughly informing the reader so that he may reach intelligent understanding and judgments. Responsibility to be reasonably objective. Herein rests the very essence of our democracy.

Now, this does not mean that the labor press should assume any wishy-washy or impartial stand on the cause of labor. Its basic function, of course, is to champion labor. It

THIS thing of press responsibility is not only a matter of morals or ethics. It is a matter also of journalistic success. If your publication does not prove itself trustworthy, it won't be believed. What's more, it won't be read. In that case, there goes your audience, and you might as well scribble your message on a kite. The problem of labor editors is not different from that of the editors of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. We've all got to attract readers to have readers.

Responsibility commands confi-

dence, and confidence puts your ideas where you want them—in the minds and hearts of your readers. This is a lesson that many leading examples of the daily newspaper press learned long ago. Their intellectual integrity is their most valuable asset.

It seems to me that in a considerable segment of the labor press there is a need for clear-cut separation of fact and opinion—of the news columns from the editorial columns. Furthermore, there may be a need in some instances to see that the news columns give both sides of the story.

In this connection, a recent article in *The Quill*, monthly magazine of a professional journalistic fraternity, is of interest. It said:

"Even journalists tend to forget that freedom of the press is basically an extension of individual freedom of speech, with the necessary right to partisanship and even to error that this carries."

The article proceeded to quote A. T. Burch, associate editor of the Chicago *Daily News*, in a speech to a group of lawyers, as follows:

"Everybody can see, hear, report, interpret and express his opinions after some fashion—his own fashion. Everybody should be free to write, print and publish, just as everybody should be free to speak. * * *

"The newspaper of general circulation must be more than an advocate of a single group interest or the pleader of some single cause. Nevertheless, there must be freedom for the party or factional spokesman, for the group organ of every kind. Every interest is entitled to a journalistic mouthpiece, if it wants to create one, just as every litigant is entitled to his own counsel in court. Rules must not be laid down for the general press that would stifle the pamphleteer or the mimeograph propagandist for any cause."

The article in *The Quill* added this comment:

"It is freedom of the press that is pledged by the Bill of Rights, not its accuracy or fairness. The latter are goals toward which the newspapers should constantly aspire, of a desire to serve as well as a wish to succeed."

The labor press is a rainbow of variety, and let us hope this will always be the case. It is a recurring surprise to see the stream of daily, weekly, monthly and other labor publications pouring through the mail.

This is as it should be. There should be adequate means of communication, not only for the great international federations and the big nationwide unions but for the local union of an obscure trade, for the community labor movement and for the voice of labor in general.

It does seem, however, that in general the labor press might well broaden somewhat its field of interest. It might give the worker-reader a better understanding of the forces that motivate the world of today, a clearer and more comprehensive picture of the significance of the labor movement.

Let it give news of bread-and-butter advancements and of fringe benefits by all means, but let it also help its readers in their grasp of the economics, politics and other practical considerations that are involved. It should undertake to help its readers understand the shifting tides of our economic and political life.

Permit me to suggest that many labor publications could stand improvement in their physical appearance. Their layout and general get-up may repel the eye instead of attracting it. One important element wherein improvement could be had lies in pictures. Many labor publications could use more and better pictures and other illustrations.

This enters into an area where the editors and publishers of the labor press encounter one of the great problems that management constantly wrestles with—costs. It costs money, plenty of money, to get out a good-looking, well illustrated, readable, responsible journal. Since the desirability and usefulness of the labor press can scarcely be questioned, the

real question is whether the labor movement wants this voice of its own strongly enough to support it properly.

The labor press is playing a big part in American life today and filling a real need. On the whole, it is doing its job well. It might try to do the job even better.

Naturally, I have addressed myself in the main to the field of the labor press, but I am not overlooking the great problems of the daily press and the debates over its proper sphere. I am well aware that some newspapers are criticized—and at least some of them perhaps justly so—for their treatment of labor news. You may be sure, nevertheless, that the honest, objective paper—and there are many such—goes to great lengths to tell both sides of the story, accurately and fairly, so far as this is humanly possible.

Unfortunately, such a paper too often is handicapped in this endeavor by the reticence or unavailability of the representatives of one side or the other in a labor matter. Not always, but perhaps too often, it is the spokesman for labor who cannot be reached or will not give the facts. To be sure, it may instead be the spokesman for management. Labor has a fine opportunity to advance its own cause and gain in public respect by improving its public relations.

Unionism often is spoken of as the essence of democracy, and the labor press exercises one of the finest privileges of democracy, the freedom of written expression.

Let us all hope that it will always cherish and protect this freedom and guard well the responsibility that goes with the freedom.

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George K. Reese (seated), A. F. of L.'s new organizing chief for Middle West, meets with organizers to map a regional drive. Director of Organization Harry O'Reilly (behind Reese) gave a short talk

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►A two-year pact providing wage increases and other benefits affecting some 15,000 culinary workers, bartenders and dining room and hotel service employes has been reached between the Los Angeles Joint Board of Culinary Workers and Bartenders and the Restaurant and Hotel Employers Council.

►Local 256 of the Laundry Drivers, San Francisco, has won a wage boost and other gains in a new contract with the Laundry and Linen Supply Board of Trade, San Francisco, and Industrial Engineers of Oakland.

►The Textile Workers have negotiated a contract with the Cloverleaf-Freeland Corporation, Hazleton, Pa. The agreement calls for a five-cent hourly wage increase and other fringe benefits.

►Local 248, Tobacco Workers, has signed a new contract with the American Tobacco Company, Louisville, Ky. The pact provides a three-cent hourly wage increase plus other adjustments.

►Local 12 of the Photo-Engravers has gained a substantial pay increase and provisions for a shorter workweek in

a new agreement with commercial shops in the Detroit area.

►District 9, Machinists, has completed new contracts with ten speedometer service and repair firms in the St. Louis area. The pacts call for use of the union label on all work turned out at the ten shops.

►Wage hikes of 7½ to 10 cents an hour have been won by members of Local 1125, Laborers, in negotiations with building contractors at the Sedalia Air Base, Warrensburg, Mo. About 800 members are affected.

►A 40-hour week, retroactive wage increases and other benefits are included in a new contract won by Local 107, Laundry Workers, at Coos Bay, Ore.

►Local 143, Meat Cutters, has signed a new contract with all chain and independent markets in Astoria, Ore. The agreement calls for a wage increase of \$5.50 a week.

►Local 503, Teamsters, has reached an agreement with the Retail Delivery Company, St. Paul, Minn., boosting wages substantially and providing other benefits for the workers.

►Local 820, Auto Workers, has completed negotiations for a new contract at the General Spring Company, Cincinnati. The package, including wage and fringe benefits, amounts to about 8 cents an hour.

►Local 2215, Carpenters, has obtained a wage increase at Sherman Brothers Furniture Company, Jamestown, N. Y. An additional paid holiday and several fringe benefits are included in the package.

►Local 760, Cannery Workers, Grandview, Wash., has won a representation election at the Welch Grape Juice Company by an overwhelming majority.

►Local 104, Hotel and Restaurant Employes, Tampa, Fla., has negotiated union contracts covering bar and restaurant employes at the jai-alai fronton and the racetrack.

►Members of Local 556, Paper Makers, have negotiated a wage boost at the L. L. Brown Paper Company, Adams, Mass.

►Local 64, Building Service Employes, has won a representation election in retail stores in St. Paul, Minn.

Local 1284, Retail Clerks, has obtained a new contract at the Lawton Clothes Stores, Milwaukee. The accord provides a \$5 increase in guaranteed salary in addition to larger commissions.

Pay increases totaling 11 per cent have been won for the sixty members of Local 23, Technical Engineers, employed at the Moloney Electric Company in St. Louis.

Local 205, Grain Millers, has renewed its contract with the Evans Milling Company in Indianapolis. The pact calls for hourly raises ranging from three to five cents.

Local 24 of the Sheet Metal Workers has won a 28-cent hourly wage increase for members employed at four breweries in Milwaukee.

Local 464, Iron Workers, has won a State Labor Relations Board election at the Genesee Steel Company, Rochester, N. Y.

Local 595, Hotel and Restaurant Workers, has entered into a three-year contract with the Kaiser Hospital, Richmond, Calif.

Local 118, Grain Millers, has gained a nine-cent hourly wage increase at the Duluth Universal Milling Company, Duluth, Minn.

A 15-cent hourly wage boost and an additional paid holiday have been won by Lodge 510, Machinists, at the Checker Cab Company in Milwaukee.

Local 569, Electrical Workers, San Diego, Calif., has concluded an agreement with Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Corporation under which all workers get an increase of six cents an hour and employees in certain classifications get boosts up to ten cents.

Local 961 of the Teamsters, Denver, has won a new contract for over-the-road drivers employed by the Pioneer-Ridgely, Buckingham, Ringsby and Salt Creek freight lines. Wage increases and other benefits were secured.

Two hundred employees of the Gluckin Corporation at Hackensack, N. J., and Suffern, N. Y., who are members of Local 166, Garment Workers, have obtained shorter working hours and improved old-age benefits in a new contract.

Local 492 of the Teamsters has signed Malco Products, Inc., at Roswell, N. M., after an intensive organizational drive and is now in the process of negotiating its first contract with the company.

Local 128, Office Employes, Miami, Fla., has negotiated a contract with the Insurance Company of Texas. The pact calls for a substantial increase in pay for the office workers.

Local 655, Retail Clerks, has signed an initial union contract with the Katz Drug Company in St. Louis covering 300 employees in five stores.

Lodge 788, Machinists, Kansas City, Mo., has won a new contract at the White Motor Company. The pact calls for a wage increase, the union shop and an improved seniority clause. Eight cents of the hourly pay boost is retroactive to last October.

Local 3, Electrical Workers, New York City, has negotiated a new contract with employers. Highlights of the new pact are a 15-cent hourly wage increase, dental care and other benefits. The new contract affects 2,600 members.

Twenty-three thousand members of the International Association of Machinists, District 91, have won a 26-cent hourly package increase plus fringe benefits in an agreement with Pratt and Whitney at East Hartford, Southington, Meriden and Portland.

A monthly wage hike of \$17, three weeks of vacation after ten years and increased welfare benefits are included in a new contract between Local 221, Office Employes, and Gale Products Company, Galesburg, Ill.

Local 3, Electrical Workers, has negotiated a one-year agreement with Central Station Signals, Inc., New York City. The contract calls for higher wages, an improved sick benefit plan and other benefits.

Local 8, Bartenders, and Local 14, Hotel and Restaurant Employes, have obtained higher pay at Denver hotels and the Denver Union Station.

Officers and organizing directors of the Retail Clerks hold session to chart vast membership drive



►The Pacific Coast Metal Trades Council has signed a new general contract with the employers involved in shipbuilding and ship repair along the coast. The agreement, which covers locals affiliated with twelve international unions, provides an across-the-board wage boost and a health and welfare plan to be administered jointly by union and employer trustees.

►Local 192, International Typographical Union, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, has won a 10-cent hourly increase as the result of new contracts signed between the employers and union printers.

►Local 206, Sheet Metal Workers, has won a two-year agreement which provides for pay increases bringing the scale to \$2.85 an hour. Other gains include improvements in the vacation schedule and in the health and welfare plan.

►Local 216 of the Boilermakers and Local 407, Molders, have secured wage increases and better working conditions at Derbyshire Steel, El Paso, Texas.

►Local 391, Amalgamated Meat Cutters, has signed contracts with three more markets in Albuquerque, N. M.

►Shorter hours and a company-paid health and welfare plan have been won by Local 26, Teamsters, for milk drivers at the Meadow Gold Dairy, Danville, Ill.

►Local 101 of the Photo Engravers, Niagara Falls, N. Y., has won a new minimum weekly wage of \$103, two weeks of vacation with pay and six paid holidays.

►The Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has won bargaining rights at the Indianapolis plant of the Western Electric Company. The plant employs a total of 4,500 workers.

They're Violating Minimum Standards

By BERT SEIDMAN, *A. F. of L. Staff Economist*

VIOLATIONS of legally required minimum labor standards were found in more than half of all firms investigated by the U. S. Labor Department during the last fiscal year. The Wage and Hour Administrator reports that 57 per cent of the 38,649 establishments investigated were found in violation of one or both of the two federal minimum labor standards laws — the Fair Labor Standards Act [the Wage and Hour Law] and the Public Contracts Act.

In the preceding year, when about 3,000 more establishments were investigated, violations were found in 58 per cent of the firms. The Labor Department found \$16,652,697 in back wages owed by 20,583 employers to 193,111 employes. Of this, 78 per cent was underpayment on overtime and 22 per cent on minimum wages.

The 1953 investigations revealed that 18 per cent of the firms had failed to pay employes the required minimum wage. In his report, the administrator cited the following examples of unconscionable exploitation of helpless low-paid workers:

"Some firms which had paid very low wages were located in highly industrialized areas. One of these was a clothing firm which was found to be paying its employes as little as 38 cents an hour. Another concern paid some women homeworkers as

little as 20 cents an hour for packing stamps which were sold to collectors. Among the underpaid women were wives of servicemen stationed at a nearby airfield.

"A manufacturer of baby clothes who had hired elderly women to crochet and knit at home was restrained by court order from further violations. One employe had received five cents an hour throughout twenty years, another worked 48 hours a week for \$2.50, while a third was paid only \$1 a week. The firm had many of its low-paid employes pay the parcel post charges when returning the completed work."

Investigations reveal an increase in violations of overtime pay requirements and a persistent year-to-year increase in illegal employment of child labor. These investigations also show that many children are illegally employed in hazardous industries, including logging, sawmilling, trucking, warehousing, mining and quarrying.

Illegal employment of children in agriculture is particularly rampant. Fully 53 per cent of the farms visited by the Labor Department representatives during fiscal 1953 illegally employed minors. The situation was particularly bad on cotton farms and in tomato growing. One bright spot was that an effective campaign to inform sugar beet growers about child

labor requirements had all but wiped out illegal employment of minors on sugar beet farms.

Even though it is apparent that a large proportion of employers are failing to comply with legally required minimum labor standards, funds for enforcement have been drastically reduced in recent years. Last year the Labor Department could survey only five per cent of the non-agricultural firms and only two per cent of the farms covered by the federal laws.

Undoubtedly, many violations occur in establishments which are not investigated, but instead of expanding its compliance work, the Labor Department has been forced to curtail its enforcement activities because its appropriations have been drastically reduced in recent years. Thus, for fiscal 1953 the Department had available for these purposes about \$6,900,000, but this has been cut in fiscal 1954 as well as in the fiscal 1955 budget to \$5,500,000.

Unless Congress substantially increases these appropriations, as the American Federation of Labor convention unanimously recommended last September, hundreds of thousands of workers will be deprived of the compensation to which they are entitled under the law and illegal exploitation of child labor will continue to increase.

FROM OTHER LABOR PUBLICATIONS

Unemployment 'Solved'

From the Oregon Labor Press

Folks who are out of jobs these days and who think business is not good are just a bunch of "eggheads," says Republican Speaker Joe Martin of the U.S. House of Representatives. Yet unemployment keeps growing. The number of claimants for unemployment compensation increases every day.

Here in Oregon new layoffs added 14,901 workers to the jobless rolls in the last two weeks. About 4,500 workers have already exhausted their compensation benefits for the year. The jobless rate is up 45 per cent above a year ago. Nationally, the number of unemployed is variously estimated from 1,800,000 to 3,100,000 men and women.

And what is the Eisenhower Administration's answer? It's just a "seasonal readjustment" or "political talk" by "eggheads." This is something new in politics and in economics. It's the first time name-calling has been used as a cure for bad business. We wonder how jobless men and women like being called eggheads.

No, we don't believe the country is in for a big depression. The New Deal laws passed in the Roosevelt days will cushion the business sag and prevent a crash. Thanks to unemployment compensation, social security, guaranteed bank deposits and other New Deal crimes, the country will weather the present storm.

But the working people of this country got full-employment habit during the New Deal. They are inclined to agree with A. F. of L. President George Meany that "when one individual wage-earner is without a job, then for him and his family unemployment is at 100 per cent."

And here in the Pacific Northwest another question is preying on a lot of minds. What about the power dams?

Building new dams would create immediate employment. And new supplies of cheap electric power would create thousands of steady jobs in new industries.

So why has the McKay gang torpedoed the power program? Maybe it marks us as one of those eggheads—but we keep wondering why. Why? Why?

The Wetback Menace

From The Laborer

Reports from the United States Immigration Service and from responsible labor sources indicate that the menace of the wetback is increasing. Last year the federal agency arrested more than 1,000,000 wetbacks. Many, of course, may have been re-peaters, but this large number of persons arrested and sent back represents a growing traffic in illegal labor.

The principal target of the wetback is a job on an American farm or plantation in the West or Southwest. However, farm jobs are by no means the only type of work taken by these illegal entrants. Em-

ployment officials are finding that the wetbacks are going into a wide variety of jobs and are displacing American workers. The displacements come because the illegals offer to do the work at wages far below those paid to Americans for the same type of work.

The wetback menace is a twin evil. American working conditions and wages are imperiled and in many cases substantially impaired, and the conditions under which the wetbacks are compelled to work are frightful examples oftentimes of inhuman treatment. Flowing from this latter evil are related results which are deleterious to the Mexicans themselves and to those in the communities in which they find themselves.

Congress has an opportunity of taking remedial steps in alleviating the wetback menace. Congress has the evidence and the nation has the weapons with which to fight this growing evil. Let us hope that some affirmative action is taken promptly in this session.

Union Dues

From The International Bookbinder

Is your employer one of those who have been declaring that you pay dues only to give union executives fat salaries? Don't let talk like this keep you from looking after your own interests. Every one of us must have incomes to pay our bills—and no person looking for an easy income would choose the job of union executive.

Your union dues pay for service. The union can do for you what you cannot do for yourself. You can do some things as an individual, but some things you can only do by joining with others who are also interested in getting action. It is impractical for the whole work force to go to the office to talk over the work contract with the boss, and so you select your best informed and ablest spokesman to go for you. But can your ablest fellow worker afford to stand up for your rights if the employer can fire him for it? This is why the union must pay a salary to its business executive.

To run your union, your executive needs more than his salary. He must have money in order to get the information and the assistance he needs to negotiate agreements covering your job. He must be able to prove that the company can pay higher wages or grant vacations with pay, or to show why and how to observe health and safety standards. He must be able to help you get compensation for accidents or for unemployment. He must be able to protect your interests wherever changes are made in your industry. He must help all union members to get jobs. He must work for laws to protect workers and work against laws that would interfere with your progress. He must represent you in civic and social activities in your community in order to get for you, your wife and your children the best possible opportunities for good and satisfactory living.

Your dues are an investment in the bene-

fits of a union—steadily rising wages as conditions warrant, greater leisure through the shorter workweek and vacations with pay, committees to represent you in dealing with grievances and job problems, greater security and better employment relationships.

Play Active Role

From The Machinist

Does your I.A.M. lodge play an active role in the affairs of local and state organizations of the American Federation of Labor? If not, the time has come for your members to discuss the advantages of such participation.

That's the recommendation Grand Lodge officers have made to I.A.M. lodges everywhere. The suggestion is contained in an official circular signed by President Al Hayes and Secretary-Treasurer Eric Peterson. The officers point out that opposition facing all organized labor in the country today is greater than at any time since 1935. The seriousness of this opposition has made all of us realize the need for better relations among the individual unions of the labor movement and particularly among unions affiliated with the A. F. of L.

Considerable progress toward closer relations has already been made at the top levels of our sister A. F. of L. unions. And organic unity between the A. F. of L. and C.L.O. is closer today than at any time in the past.

We suggest that closer relations among unions at local and state levels will further strengthen the American labor movement. We therefore urge all I.A.M. lodges not now affiliated with State Federations of Labor, local central bodies and metal trades councils to seriously investigate the possibilities of working with these bodies for the mutual advantage of all concerned.

Mr. Hayes and Mr. Peterson emphasized that most of our local lodges affiliated with these bodies have learned that such participation benefits our members substantially.

In many cases, they declared, it has brought about cooperation and assistance from the bodies themselves as well as from their affiliated unions. Improvement in local relations has also favorably influenced I.A.M. negotiations with some unions on a national level.

'Right to Work' Laws

From the AFL Auto Worker

Perhaps the most sugar-coated and misleading term to emerge from recent management strategy conferences is that of "right to work" laws, meaning, of course, an all-out drive to return to the open shop. If ever there was a deliberate misnomer or cover-up, this phrase takes the top honor. For, on the surface, no one would object to the right of an individual to work, and the false impression created by the phrase is doubly dangerous as a result.

The National Association of Manufacturers and big business in general are concentrating their efforts to give states more authority in the conduct of labor relations and top objective is a campaign to get every state to enact a law whereby the union shop would be outlawed and the check-off of dues likewise.

In other words, even if ninety-eight per cent of the workers in a plant vote for a union shop, their desires and wishes will mean nothing and the remaining two per cent of workers need not join the union to help support its efforts to win better wages and working conditions. (However, the law specifies that these same people who refuse to support the union must share in all gains and benefits secured by the union!)

Even if the union members go out on strike and after a long struggle win their objectives, the same gains will go to the non-members who refused to join the union or participate in the strike.

American unions believe in our democratic form of government. They believe that the will of the majority should be the law of the land.

For example, many of us do not agree with certain laws enacted by Congress or state legislatures. But that does not give us the right to disregard these laws as long as the majority has taken action to enact them.

This same principle should hold true with the union shop. Free riders who wish to share in all the advantages won by a union but refuse to assume any of its

obligations should not be protected by a "right to work" law. Remember, these employees are not precluded from getting employment elsewhere. But certainly the majority of workers in a plant has the right to determine union membership within its own plant.

The "right to work" laws should be called exactly what they really are—the denial to workers of the right to protect their own organizations through the establishment of membership requirements.

Without this protection, union would soon cease to exist as strong worker organizations and employees would once again find themselves at the mercy of their employer, which, of course, is exactly what the National Association of Manufacturers and big business want.

The Situation in Italy

(Continued from Page 16)

eliminate, above all, the danger of a collaboration between the Christian Democrats and the Monarchist Party. This collaboration is to be deprecated not merely for its negative aspects and its complications of institutional character but also for the specific stand taken by the Monarchist Party on social and economic issues.

In Italy the ultimate success of our anti-Communist campaign is closely dependent on the success of a bold policy of social reforms. But the Monarchist Party, from the very first days of its appearance in the present Parliament, has constantly pursued a policy of opposition to any reform, particularly the land reform. The formation of a government with the participation or the support of the Monarchist Party can only result in a further political demoralization of the Italian masses.

It is of extreme and timely importance to point out that Italy needs the continuation and the intensification of the bold, progressive social policy already started, but not to be confined only to reforms of great magnitude and spectacular in character.

In the last few months, even before the June 7 elections, the Italian Communist Party has developed an aggressive and detailed campaign in defense of the most minute grievances that the average Italian worker may have in every aspect of his daily life. Since in Italy there are many reasons and causes for such complaints, the Communist Party has derived considerable benefits from such a campaign.

It is necessary that the government

as well as the democratic parties challenge the Communists in this very same field—the government with the adoption of strong measures designed to insure a prompt and effective defense of the workers' individual and collective rights, and the democratic parties by taking a more pronounced position on the side of the workers and by giving prompt and unqualified support to their trade union demands and aspirations.

This is the only way to neutralize effectively the overt exploitation of misery by the Communist Party in Italy.

In the specific field of Italian economic life, the well-known lack of economic resources makes imperative the continuation of help, particularly from the United States. It is well to point out, in this respect, that Italy has received hardly half the financial and economic help given to France. Naturally, it should be the specific concern of the Italian government and the Italian democratic parties to see to it that this aid is utilized exclusively in the general interest of the community and that any violation of such a rule is severely punished.

In Italy, as in other countries, the defense of the currency is of paramount importance. Moreover, the Italian democratic labor movement has in many instances rejected any wage policy that may bring about inflation. In the last few years the C.I.S.L. has taken a courageous stand in this respect, even risking unpopularity among the workers.

Once having secured stability of the currency, we need the adoption of

a government financial policy designed to promote economic expansion and the creation of greater employment opportunities. We do not believe that, in the present social and economic conditions of Italy, balancing of the budget should become a goal to be achieved at any cost.

It must be pointed out that the Italian political situation has been greatly affected, in a negative sense, by the unstable policies of the Allied powers in regard to the Trieste question. The Italian masses revolt at the very thought that the rights of Italy in respect to Trieste could be denied. I am not exaggerating when I state that a prompt, just solution of the Trieste issue would greatly enhance the prestige of the democratic forces in Italy.

I have taken advantage of the opportunity offered me by the American Federation of Labor, with its cordial invitation to attend the present session of its Executive Council, to emphasize certain aspects of the labor and political policies which are of particular and timely interest to my own country, but which also have great repercussions in the worldwide struggle of free men in defense of the basic values of our civilization.

BE ALERT!

**JOIN
LL.P.E.
TODAY**

DO YOUR PART!

It costs only \$1 to back Labor's League. You can't possibly make a better investment.

Union Members Support Chest Drives

RAISE for its all-out cooperation during 1953 has been extended to organized labor throughout the United States by the Community Chests and Councils of America.

It is reported that combined labor-management participation played a large part in pushing Community Chest and United Community Fund drives over the top last year in communities of all sizes in every region. Here are a few examples:

EAST

Trenton, New Jersey—All divisions of the Delaware Valley United Fund reached their quotas with complete support from the A. F. of L.

Philadelphia—A. F. of L. Machinists' Lodge 1717 and the Yale and Towne Company earned United Fund honors by achieving 149.8 per cent of quota and 85.9 per cent participation. The average gift was \$11.43.

Buffalo, New York—Average gifts ranging from \$10 to \$15 per employee were contributed by members of the A. F. of L. Building Trades Council.

New Haven, Connecticut—Five teams, led by Stanley Greising, president, and Bernard Gilbride, business manager, Local 90, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, helped the industrial division raise \$510,019

for the United Fund of Greater New Haven. *New Britain, Connecticut*—The industrial division received \$110,500 from 17,500 employees.

Newburgh, New York—All past records in Community Chest drives were broken by members of Local 29, Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers, who increased contributions more than 600 per cent. An increase in excess of 300 per cent was reported by Local 168, International Ladies' Garment Workers.

SOUTH

Durham, North Carolina—Members of the Tobacco Workers International Union employed at Liggett and Myers contributed twice the amount given to all agencies and three times the amount donated to the Community Chest the preceding year.

Fort Worth, Texas—Each member of Local 330, Motion Picture Operators, pledged 100 per cent support by contributing one hour's pay each month during 1954 to Fort Worth's United Fund. The Convair Contribution Club, represented by Lodge 776, Machinists, gave \$104,000 to the Fund.

Texarkana, Texas—Local 878, Teamsters, devised a unique method to determine a fair contribution. This was to base the gift on mileage for an over-the-road round trip figured at slightly over six and one-half cents per mile.

CENTRAL

Lansing, Michigan—More than 130 per cent of their quota, the highest in the cam-

paign, was achieved by A. F. of L. unions and employers. The largest percentage for any team, 530 per cent, was turned in by Andy Virtue, Bricklayers' business agent.

Danville, Illinois—Organized labor helped push the Community Chest goal of \$127,000 over the top by \$8000.

Grand Rapids, Michigan—A. F. of L. unions and employers made a special effort in the construction and transportation industries. A labor-management approach resulted in payroll deductions at 97 per cent of the firms covered. At one A. F. of L. plant 1952's contribution of \$1380 was boosted to \$4517 last year, although the number of employees was unchanged. Previously this plant had not made its quota.

Chillicothe, Ohio—The A.E.C. project campaign was sparked by the A. F. of L. Atomic Trades Council.

Omaha, Nebraska—The Employes' Division received recognition for finishing with the best record of any division in the Chest drive. It reported \$298,313, equal to 103 per cent of its quota.

PACIFIC COAST

Woodland, California—Employes of the Spreckels Sugar Company, members of the Beet Sugar Operators, Local 20610, tripled last year's contribution.

Seattle, Washington—A \$350,000 donation from Boeing Aircraft employes, who are represented by the International Association of Machinists, was a highlight in Seattle's United Good Neighbor Fund Drive.

French Labor's Story

(Continued from Page 21)

and organize for action under its banner. Since then free and democratic French trade unionists have been fighting under the Force Ouvrière banner.

The split came as a shock to the Communists. It led them to much self-searching and to a purge, though it may be doubted whether those who lost their jobs over the failure of the much-trumpeted strikes, which had provoked the split, were those really responsible for them.

Frachon, the general secretary, claimed scalps for the imprudent haste of some—which haste cost him the success of a strategy carefully planned and patiently pursued over many years. Time had worked for him and the ripe fruit was practically in his grasp when his over-zealous friends—or was it his own superiors?—snatched at it and crushed it.

We must conclude that loss of posi-

tion and strength has much to do with the present bleating of the Communists at the C.G.T., which has lost millions of members and, like the C.G.T.U. in 1936, is incapable as a body of effective action on its own.

If the Communists in France remain in control of the C.G.T., it is because they still have a certain "genius"—evil though it may be—and they remain there to exercise it and to act as a fifth column for the Cominform. The purpose of the Communists in France is to create, or help to create, intolerable conditions for the French workers and then call upon them to take action to deliver themselves from those very conditions! The Communists remain in the C.G.T. to help dislocate the French economy and at the same time perform the double role of executioner and counsel for the defense. They seek to turn every possible situation to their own

profit. Their gamut has stretched from approval of the Communist aggression in Korea to protests against taxation for national defense.

Communist leaders whose task is to pervert the functions of trade unions are deceiving very few at present. A solid barrier of opinion confronts them. Whatever forces they have are insufficient for an offensive.

The free and democratic trade unionists of France have learned from experience. We are not likely to repeat our mistakes. Once we escaped only by the skin of our teeth from becoming a so-called "popular democracy." We acted vigorously at that time, and since then we have carefully consolidated our position.

We intend to liberate French trade unionism completely from the Communists. We know that constant vigilance is needed, for were we to allow ourselves to slip back, it is by no means certain that the "miracle" of 1947, which resulted in the birth of the democratic Force Ouvrière, would be repeated.

WHAT THEY SAY

President Eisenhower—One of the greatest things about the United States



is the fact that it has achieved the highest level of mass education in history. This American system has many unique and valuable phases, among the most important of which are the land-grant colleges, the experiment stations, the vocational education program in high schools, the county agent system and the Future Farmers and 4-H programs. The wealth of the world is created by the work of skilled hands on raw materials. Our magnificent system of vocational education is constantly developing increased understanding of raw materials and is helping to develop the skilled hands and the clear minds essential to turning those raw materials into useful wealth. One thing I like especially about the program is that it calls for genuine understanding and cooperation on the part of federal, state and local agencies. Here the federal government is a helpful partner, not an officious boss. That is how it should be.

William C. Doherty, president, *National Association of Letter Carriers*



—Just about everybody in Washington has been busy gathering statistics, compiling data and designing charts to prove one of two things—either federal employees need a salary increase or they do not. The National Association of Letter Carriers has made a study, and our factual data are the results of a survey among a cross-section of letter carriers—a poll that reached dozens of cities in each of the forty-eight states. Members were polled in large metropolitan areas as well as small, less populated districts. The survey covered letter carriers in farm sections, defense areas and other highly

industrialized centers. The N.A.L.C. survey disclosed that of 59,158 carriers responding to our questionnaire, 26,632 or 45 per cent are obliged to engage in part-time work. There would be many more partially employed outside the postal service if work opportunities were available. The same holds true for working wives. The poll showed 38.2 per cent, but a considerable number of the replies pointed out that either no part-time work was available or there were infant children in the home.

Russell M. Stephens, president, *American Federation of Technical Engineers*



Engineering—In times of crisis, government is faced with the challenge of how to achieve national objectives by employing only these methods and techniques which fit within the framework of our concept of democracy. The temptation is great to prove the truth of the famous statement of Machiavelli that "those republics which in time of danger resort to dictatorship will generally be ruined when grave occasions occur." Nowhere is this challenge greater or the problems more vexing than in the field of manpower. This is so because of all the ingredients necessary to wage war, only manpower is people. All others are mere things to be shuffled and moved about as necessity seems to dictate. I do not believe that this nation must resort to dictatorship in order to win a war against dictators. Neither am I greatly comforted by assurances that a significant characteristic of American democracy is its ability to rid itself of dictatorial methods once a crisis has passed. The validity of such assurances has never fully been proved. In my view, the key point in the American concept of what constitutes democratic government is the willingness of our citizenry to accept reasonable and necessary limitations on their individual freedom of choice wherever and

whenever such limitations are proved necessary in the common interest.

Herbert H. Lehman, Senator from New York—Never has our horizon



seemed more troubled and uncertain, more overcast with confusion, problems and grave potentialities. The issues which face us in the present year, involving

peace and human dignity, are many and grave. The world tinder-boxes are increasing in number—from Korea to Kashmir, from the Elbe River to the Jordan, and from Helsinki to Singapore. New crises arise and subside but do not disappear. The stage of world events becomes more and more crowded. It has become hard even to keep all the crises in mind. In our own country the United Nations is under attack as never before, while Soviet Russia presses her cunning campaign to destroy and split the free world, whose unity is the greatest assurance of our own security. To discharge our responsibilities of world leadership requires bold, consistent and imaginative policies. It requires a decent respect for the opinion of free mankind.

J. O. Moore, president, *Atlanta Federation of Trades*—We members of



the organized labor movement must recognize that through the union label we help to promote the cause for which we are striving. The union label is for the purpose of acquainting our fellow workers and our sympathetic friends with the importance of such a label. In shopping for any article or service, be sure to look for and demand the union label. In doing so, you will help a worker who is striving to accomplish the same results for his or her local union that you are seeking. Rest assured that this article or service will be of the very highest quality. I am afraid that many of us are guilty of not taking the necessary steps to display our union labels. Let's insist upon the union label at all times.

The Get-Together-II

EDITH, you *must* eat your dinner," her mother said. "Your committee will be here soon and we want to finish and clear the table so you'll have a place to work when they get here."

"Yes, Mother," said Edith. She took a few bites. "What gets me is why the Hillside Local didn't think of the date of their old Homecoming Day before they let us make all the arrangements."

"No use going over all that again," advised her brother Sam. "All you have to do now is hope there won't be a blizzard the next date you pick."

"I think you'll find it was an unavoidable error, or at least an unintentional one, on the part of the Hillside folks," said Daddy Mills, from his place at the head of the table. "And I also believe that you'll go ahead with new arrangements, and as they work out you'll find better cooperation and goodwill than you expected. I'll help you, Edith, if there is anything you want me to do. The Central Labor Union has faced and lived through worse crises than this. We've had lots of experience, and we'll be on hand to give you kids a lift if you need it."

By the time her committee arrived Edith was in high spirits again. She quickly explained the situation. They set to work to select a new date. It was decided that the Saturday three weeks off would be best. Each committee member was given a task and told to report the following afternoon after school.

Things worked out very well, and the next night Edith telephoned Pat Lally, the president of the Hillside local, to give him the news. The revised plans met his approval. He was pleased and he promised full cooperation.

Shortly before ten o'clock on the appointed Saturday morning the chartered bus from Hillside pulled to a stop before the Labor Temple. Across the front of the building was a huge banner with "WELCOME, HILLSIDE" spelled across it.

As the visitors entered the building they were met by their friends and

directed to the registration room. Here they were given badges with name cards to wear on their lapels, and a folder containing the program and other interesting literature. Of course, all the printed matter bore the union label. A committee of girls received the visiting girls in the ladies' lounge, where they left their wraps and bags. The Hillside boys were taken in charge by a local committee of boys and went into the men's lounge.

At eleven o'clock Corry Blake, the Junior Union president, called the meeting to order. Every seat was filled except three at the back of the room.

The meeting opened with an invocation, followed by a short, cordial address of welcome and a response by President Lally of the Hillsiders. Since the meeting was truly a joint undertaking, both organizations participated in the program and both groups shared equally in presenting the various topics. The discussions which followed were interesting, with many from both groups taking part.

At one o'clock there was a recess for lunch. The union restaurant on Asylum Avenue was prepared to serve a tasty and reasonably priced luncheon to the young people. As they walked to the restaurant in small groups they noticed that many of the store windows along the way were displaying their union shop cards.

"It looks like this is a well organized town," remarked one of the visitors.

"Yes, and we patronize the stores and shops that are union," said one of the local boys. "We feel that union wages should be spent only for union products and union services."

"That's the way we do it in Hillside, too," reported another lad. "We have a label campaign on right now. Each week we check the establishments to see if their cards are well displayed."

The restaurant had been decorated in honor of the two Junior Unions, and the tables had been set up especially for them. A delicious lunch was served. Afterward there was a

short musical program, which included the singing of some of the lively Junior Union songs.

Back at the Labor Temple there were talks by Mr. Davison and Mrs. Jonas, the counselor for the Hillside lodge. Then the Hillside local presented a short play, and it was well received.

By 4:30 the business portion of the get-together was concluded. Edith announced that there would be free time until 6:30. Then all were to assemble at the high school for a buffet supper and a social evening in the gym.

"I believe you have all found your host-guest teams," she said. "Will the home-towners see that your special guests have a few minutes to relax? We'll see you at the gym at supper time."

That evening the young people had a wonderful time. There was good food and lots of it. There were games, music and dancing, too, and general good fellowship.

At ten o'clock the Hillside bus driver came in and announced he was ready to load up for the return trip.

"I promised to have this busload of dynamite back in Hillside at eleven o'clock. I will have a bunch of parents on my neck if I run late."

Mrs. Jonas helped round up her charges, and as the Hillside boys and girls approached the bus there were calls of "thanks for a wonderful time." Soon the bus began to edge away, and the local Junior Unionists shouted: "Goodbye, and come again."

The crisp winter air carried back the echo of young voices singing as the big vehicle moved off into the night.

"Well, Edith, it's all over," Buzzy Peake said as the bus vanished.

"And what a success!" said Mr. Davison. "Congratulations, Edith! It was splendid!"

"Come on, sister, let's go home," suggested Sam.

"Yes, Sam. But wasn't it all wonderful? I'm almost sorry it's over. Indeed I am."

THE END

DON'T FORGET TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE HEART DRIVE

Don't Miss the Big Show!

It Opens on April 1 in Los Angeles

The World's Greatest Labor-Management Exposition—the 1954 edition of the famous A. F. of L. Union Label Industries Show—will open on Thursday, April 1, at the Pan-Pacific Auditorium in Los Angeles. Raymond F. Leheney of the Union Label and Service Trades Department, American Federation of Labor, promises that this year's show will be

"the greatest attraction ever offered." You have always wanted to visit fabulous Southern California. Why not plan to be in Los Angeles during the first week in April? You and your family will hugely enjoy the exciting, educational Union Label Industries Show. The fiesta spirit will prevail! Make it a date! This is one show you will remember forever!



It is expected that the crowds this year will be larger than ever before.

Previously the World's Greatest Labor-Management Exposition has been staged in Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Boston, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Minneapolis and Milwaukee. Each year the show has been bigger and better than before. And this year's show, says Secretary Leheney of the Union Label and Service Trades Department, will be the best one by a very wide margin. Do you have any questions about the show? Would you like to have some tickets for yourself and your family and friends? For prompt action, write today to Mr. Leheney at the Union Label and Service Trades Department's headquarters, 100 Indiana Ave. N. W., Washington, D. C.



RAY LEHENNEY